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THE EXPERIENCE OF A SUFI*

My experience shows that Christianity is not a mere acceptance of certain beliefs and dogmas, though they are necessary, but essentially it is living in close fellowship with Christ. It is not only a religion to be practised, but also a life to be lived. Before I accepted Christ as my Lord and Saviour my conception of goodness and virtues was in the form of negation,—truth, for example, was merely the absence of falsehood, purity only the absence of impurity, righteousness was merely a negation of unrighteous deeds and so on, but in Christ I see them in their full splendour, positively existing, and far too sublime to be comprehended in their fullness by any mortal mind. It is something like the way I got an idea of whiteness in its greater purity than I had known before when I gazed at the sun-kissed snow which lies perpetually on the Himalayan peaks, or when I stood looking at the snow-flakes on the surface of the frozen lake beyond Gulmarg in Kashmir. He is not only righteous but righteousness Himself, He is not only loving, but inasmuch as God is Love, He is love incarnate. So the only way to know these virtues or goodness is to allow Him to dwell within one's heart.

No amount of reading about mountains can give that feeling of joy which a mountaineer experiences in actually climbing the steep peaks and living surrounded by mountain scenery. These and other qualities of life cannot be acquired by mere reading about them, but by living in personal contact with persons who embody these qualities in their own life. Thus it is that the more we live with Him the more we know of the Divine qualities as He reveals them to the extent that our feeble soul is able to comprehend them. God is infinite and so there is no limit to His love, goodness, purity and all other Divine attributes. One mountain peak of His experience leads to another, and thus we go higher and higher. At every peak I find myself exclaiming: "O unsearchable riches of Christ!"

Bombay, India

BISHOP JOHN SUBHAN

* We count ourselves happy to use this strong testimony from our friend in his book "How a Sufi found his Lord," as keynote for the XXXVIth volume of our Quarterly.—Ed.

OBSERVATIONS IN EGYPT

Egypt today is three Egypts: ancient, mediaeval and modern. Early Egypt is marvelous for its pyramids, temples and tombs. It is glorious for the beauty and interest of the treasures preserved in the museums. It stands first as the country whose culture and literature enriched not only its own but also other peoples. Egypt will always be a land that travelers will wish to visit. Scholars will always want to study its ancient civilization. The present-day Egyptians are trustees of a permanent source of wealth and honor as the ancient glories of their country are increasingly discovered and revealed to the world.

Mediaeval Egypt is fascinating, picturesque and colorful. This Egypt is still to be seen in the mosques, minarets and monuments surviving from the Fatimid and Mamluk periods. The rubble and ruins of these and earlier times are surrounded by modern houses and paved roads. There are streets and bazars in Cairo where the atmosphere and life of other centuries remain. Away from the cities, and sometimes not very far away, people still dwell in the caves of the hills just as their ancestors did.

Geography, history and religion combine to make the Egypt of today supremely important strategically and politically. As a pathway of the commerce of the world, as the object of the desire of one strong nation after another through many centuries, as the present foremost representative of the millions of Muslim peoples, the position of Egypt is of critical and vital national and international concern.

The Egyptians of today retain in their language, their ideas and their customs not a little from their early ancestors. Some of this inheritance will not survive the impact of modern education and technology, but other characteristics are determined by the fundamental nature of the people and the country. It is not likely that Egyptians will colonize other lands because they love their own so much. And it is probable that they will continue to flood a lawn, rather than sprinkle it. What they have learned in Egypt is that there nature's aid to agriculture is the overflow of the Nile rather than rain. But perhaps at some future time unwanted kittens will not be exposed to their fate in such a way that the kites and other scavengers of the sky will carry them away, nor will peasant *hands* always lift the Nile water above the level of the fields.

There is much of mediaeval Egypt also in the thoughts and habits of the living inhabitants of the land. Some of these attitudes and practices, brought from nearby countries by friendly immigrants or invading armies, have, with time, become indigenous, natural, and,

indeed, indispensable at present to most Egyptians and belong now to their character. The Coptic Egyptians received Christianity from abroad, mixed it with their own culture and practised it in their own ways, but their Christianity is now a vital part of their being. The Muslim Egyptians have accepted the religion founded by an Arab and have themselves become, by conviction and desire, Arabs of the Arabs, in most respects the leading representatives of the Islamic world.

But the Egyptians of today are also living in the modern world. That modern world began in Europe with the Renaissance in general culture, with the Reformation in the religion of mediaeval Europe, with the Enlightenment in European philosophical thought, with the industrial revolution in textile and agricultural production and in commerce, and with the passing of feudal serfdom and the increase of urban development.

The ideas and trends current in the rest of the world are of great interest to a large minority of Egyptians and are receiving the adherence of a great number of them. While it is undoubtedly true that most Egyptians are traditional and conservative in their thinking and way of living, there are many others who have not only accepted for themselves the western style of clothing and dwelling but also the non-Egyptian views of private and social life.

Because many Egyptians, including an increasing number of young women, have received their education in Europe or in modern schools in Egypt, there is a real difference between the content of their minds and the conceptions of their fathers and brothers who followed the traditional Islamic curriculum if they went to any school at all. Education, both formal and informal, is flourishing in Egypt. The government is unable to cope with the demand for schools. An investigator of current publications can only be amazed at the amount of intellectual activity there. The number of books, magazines and newspapers produced is tremendous and is limited only by the amount of paper available, with some of the paper bought even at uncontrolled prices. The books soon become out of print. One new magazine has had a phenomenal success. The newspapers, in spite of their small size, sell readily. These publications deal with every branch of knowledge: science, philosophy, psychology, sociology, religion, novels, drama and poetry. Some are new editions of standard Arabic authors. Others are translations from English, French, German and Russian. Most are original productions.

This literary activity is not new in Egypt, but it has never been so great. One society of *littérateurs* has promoted writing, translating and publishing for three decades. Another society of teachers has specialized in philosophy and its members are publishing a book a

month. Another group is issuing an Arabic translation of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* prepared by the best Islamic scholars of the West. These are Egyptian enterprises, not institutes supported by foreigners domiciled in Egypt and their governments, useful as these have been for the preservation of the knowledge of the past.

In several fields of human endeavor modern Egypt has gained pre-eminence so far as the Muslim world is concerned. There is no other Muslim land where there is so great a production of literature, so many first class authors, or so many leaders of culture. The future holds possibilities of still greater cultural glory as the immense literary treasures of the past are disclosed by the publication of adequate bibliographies and editions of books. One library alone in Egypt has 65,000 Arabic manuscripts. There are works of scholars of recent years, it is said, that have not yet been made available to the world at large, so that hundreds of copies of books already printed await the order of some energetic and patriotic official to release them to the public for Egypt's greater cultural fame.

In the world of politics also Egypt has the leading position in the Arabic-speaking world. As the chief promoter of the Arab League, Egypt remains the chief of the Arab nations. As the League will undoubtedly strengthen the political position of the Arab peoples, so Egypt will help to increase the economic and cultural welfare of them all. Egyptians are devoted to freedom and peace: it is to be expected that they will desire for themselves and for their neighbors all the independence possible for any nation in this interdependent world of our time, and that they will strive peacefully for that generous purpose. In the one world towards which the present generation is marching, let us hope that the time will come when not the size or power or wealth of his nation will give worth or importance or position to any individual, but rather that each man will stand on his own merits as a person of culture and character. In that day the Egyptian will keep his place with the best of mankind.

It is not so clear, to one observer at least, that Egypt is going to retain the leadership of the Muslim peoples in the field of religion. In many of the departments of human affairs Egypt is progressively accepting the modern views of individual and social rights and responsibilities which have been secured and preserved in recent years at great cost. It would be strange indeed if, among all the interests of mankind, the ideas and practices of religion alone should experience no further change, even in conservative Egypt.

When Turkey, two decades ago, began a new political life, faced the West and broke radically with Islam, Egypt remained as it had been and retained the religious attitudes of the ultra conservative members of al-Azhar who continued to teach mainly a mediaeval cur-

riculum. The efforts of earlier reformers to introduce changes in Egyptian education had been so strongly resisted that new ideas received no sympathy there. As a result entirely new schools and a new educational system had to be established to teach the new social and natural sciences and other modern subjects.

Turkey's abolition of the caliphate seemed to some Egyptians to call for a new appraisal of the significance and value of that institution and indeed of Islamic theories of government in general. However, the religious aspects of the subject dominated the thoughts and determined the actions of the government, since the attitude of most Egyptians remained as it had been for several centuries. Contrary to the hopes of these and other Muslims elsewhere, the institution did not survive and is certainly not likely to be revived as a politico-religious system.

In literary scholarship one author in 1926 endeavored to teach in Egypt what he had learned from modern education in Europe. His book seemed to many Egyptians to attack the foundations of the Islamic religion and so it was suppressed. Egypt was not yet ready for change in any matter that seemed to have a religious connection.

So it is not evident that there are in Egypt any officials prepared to assume in matters related to religion the leadership that modern thought and conditions seem to require elsewhere. There are women who publicly advocate changes in matters that in the past have been connected with religion. As individuals and as representatives of large Arab groups, Egyptian women are asking for changes that they believe will improve their social status. But the general public and the public officials still retain attitudes inherited from the mediaeval ages.

It is in India that there seems to be more freedom to propose changes in the religious thought of Muslims. There lectures were given and afterwards published under the title of *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*,¹ and the Indian Muslim became a leader among his fellow believers. Another Indian² leader has counseled his fellow Muslims to study the Protestant Reformation in Europe and consider the possibility of progress among Muslim peoples through the same procedure of the institutional separation of religion and government. It is to be noted that this is the recommendation of a Muslim to other Muslims, for of course if Muslims change their religious ideas and institutions they will want to do so of themselves, in complete freedom from pressure or even proffered advice of non-Muslims. But change is inevitable. If there is to be a new world of modern freedoms, it will at least be a world where freedom of religion will ex-

¹ Iqbal, Sir Muhammad. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Oxford, 1934.

² Suhrawardy, Sir Hasan. Chapter on India in *Islam Today*, edited by A. J. Arberry & Rom Landau. London, 1943.

ist for nations, for minorities within a nation and for the individuals within a religious community. Egypt already enjoys much of such freedom and the inevitable change can only mean that there will be more.

In the last century Egypt had a religious leader whose reforms were at the time too radical for most of his contemporaries, but whose memory and ideas are honored now. Not all Egyptians may be ready as yet for another change in religious thinking that will bring new progress in the social, cultural and political departments of life. Nevertheless there are signs that al-Azhar, the stronghold of conservatism, cannot be called stagnant or reactionary, but is alive and awake to the fact that the future as well as the past is important.

The leaders that advocate any changes in matters that seem to affect religion may expect still to meet strong opposition from such a land of tradition as Egypt has ever been. But Egypt has produced literary, social, political and, in the past, religious leaders of their own nation and of the Arabic world. Egypt may be expected to advance, not in spite of religion, but with the freedom within religion that will make possible for all Egyptians whatever advantages other modern peoples enjoy.

These are some impressions of one observer who spent a very pleasant academic year in Egypt.

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THE CHURCH IN IRAN

There are those who claim that the indigenous church in Iran dates from Pentecost. Certainly from the time "Parthians and Medes, and Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia"¹ were found among those at Pentecost, until the present day, there have been Christian activity, the evangelistic message, and groups of Christian believers in Iran.

The fascinating story of the Church in Iran from the time St. Thomas is claimed to be "evangelist to the Parthians"² until the Mongolian invasion of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane left only a small remnant of the glorious Nestorian church, is a story which in its details would fill a volume. Let it suffice for our purpose in this article briefly to summarize the church of these early centuries.

From the theological schools of Asia Minor, at Edessa and Nisibis (following along the main highways which led through Seleucia-Ctesiphon) Tatian, Addai, Mari and others like Bardaisan or Gregory carried the message until it penetrated the Kabul Valley into India. Through the fastnesses of the Zagros Mountains into the Caucasus and high lands of Armenia, these tireless apostles travelled and labored until churches and school centers, missionary and literary effort bore fruit in a well-defined church of Iran in Asia. We read that

"Christianity first began to spread in Western Asia toward the end of the Parthian era, thanks to the zeal of the missionaries of Edessa. Bishoprics were created, and in spite of dissensions, a Christian church with Syriac for its language was gradually organized in Iran under the primacy of the Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. We read from Syriac documents that towards the beginning of the third century the Christians in the Persian Empire had some 360 churches and many martyrs."³

It was during the Sassanian dynasty (A.D. 226-641), however, that a richer story of the church is found and, as it may seem, written in the suffering and blood of martyrs and persecutions like those under Shapur II. For though a few Persian kings like Bahram IV and Chosroes I (Anushirwan the Just) were kindly or showed favor and toleration, still the national feeling always clung to Zoroastrianism as their ancient creed. We read,

"Many thousands of Persians embraced Christianity, but Persia remained the stronghold of the religion of Zoroaster, and there never arose an indigenous Persian church, worshipping in the Persian language, and leavening the whole nation. Bitter persecutions continued in Persia for a century after they had ceased

¹ Acts 2:9.

² Eusebius concerning St. Thomas, *Ency. Britannica*, Vol. XXII, p. 143.

³ *Cambridge Ancient History*, Chap. IV, p. 121.

in the Roman Empire. When the Christian religion received formal recognition from Constantine (A.D. 312) there is no doubt that this identification of the church with the Roman Empire was a chief cause of its disfavor in Persia. Moreover there is evidence that Christianity had spread widely in the Persian dominions, and every Christian was suspected of disaffection towards the Persian king, and secret attachment to the Roman Empire. The more so because the Persian-speaking Christians employed the Syriac language in their church and literature and worship."⁴

We marvel at this church as we see it in its historic church leaders: Mar Maris, who planted the church at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and made successful evangelistic tours through Doorkhan, Kashgar, the two Iraks, El Ahwaz, Yemen, and the Island of Socotra; or at Baidaisan, Counsellor of Bar Manu, supposed to have been instrumental in Abgar's conversion. (There was a Christian church at Edessa in 203 A.D.) Though Baidaisan is the first missionary in the East, after the first century, whose name we know, he himself tells us that already Christianity had spread in Parthia, Media, Persia, and Bactria.⁵

Among these early church leaders were: Gregory, the Apostle to the Armenians, whose father was a Parthian invader of Armenia, and who, having been trained at Caesarea, some time later, by his life and influence, brought about the conversion of the Armenian king Tiradates; Tatian, who compiled the Diatessaron; Aphraates, the converted Persian noble, writer of homilies; Maruthas, employed by the Roman Emperor as envoy at the Persian court where he gained great influence over the Persian kings; Abdas of Susa and his zeal in destroying a Zoroastrian temple and thus precipitating another persecution; Ephraem Syrus, famous commentator and defender of the faith against the heresies of Baidaisan and Mani; we mention also Isaac of Antioch, writer of 190 metrical homilies, who denounced the current abuses of the luxury of his times much in the mood of the Hebrew prophets.

We marvel at ancient liturgies in the Syriac language, and the hundreds of churches destroyed in the reign of Yezdegerd (399-420). We marvel even at the church dissensions and controversies over the Gnostic teachings of Baidaisan and Mani, whose ideas still prevail in Moslem conceptions of Christ. But we cannot fail to see and realize afresh that these bitter persecutions, which all but decimated and destroyed the early church in Iran, were repeatedly caused by the tragedy of equating Christianity, the Zoroastrian, or the Mohammedan religion with nationalism! Christianity was thought of as being the national religion of the Romans who were Persia's bitter rivals. They believed Zoroastrianism was their national religion and creed. Christianity was foreign. It did not belong to them.

⁴ Catholic Encyc. *Christianity in Persia*, Vol. XI, p. 721.

⁵ Barnes, *Two Thousand Years Missions before Carey*, Chap. VI, p. 78.

"It was during Gubad's reign that the Nestorians began to enter more fully into Persian life, and under him that they began their missionary expansion Eastward."⁶

How did they succeed in coming into such favor and attain the peace and general toleration which extended on into Chosroe's reign? The Nestorians seem to have succeeded better in influence at the court and in giving to their church the national stamp of Iran! In volume X of the Catholic Encyclopaedia we read a reason for this golden area of favor and expansion of Nestorianism:

"At this time the church in Persia was autonomous, having renounced all subjection to Antioch and the Western bishops at the Council of Seleucia-Ctesiphon 410."⁷

In another account we read,

"Between 450-500 the Nestorians, persecuted in the Roman Empire, fled to Persia for protection, and in 498 the whole Persian church declared in favor of Nestorianism. Henceforth the history of Christianity in Persia is their history. In the next two centuries the Persian church kept steadily increasing until it rivalled and perhaps surpassed in extent, power, and wealth, any other national Christian church, having a hierarchy of 230 bishops scattered over Assyria, Babylonia, Chaldea, Arabia, Media, Khorasan, Persia proper, the very deserts of Turkestan, the oasis of Merv, both slopes of the Persian Gulf, and even beyond it in the Islands of Socotra and Ceylon, through the coasts of Malabar, and at last to China and Tataria."⁸

"At one time Barsumas their great leader came into high favor with King Peroz (Firuz) who argued with Barsumas over the *advantage of a Persian church not dependent upon Antioch and Constantinople!* Consequently, all Christians *who were not Nestorian* were driven from Persia!"⁹

There was place for a Christianity and a Christian church completely nationalized with Iranian stamp, rule, and independence.

By the time of the Mohammedan invasion, Christianity was widely diffused in Persia, and in some localities the Christians were very numerous; the Christian religion continued to spread after the rise of Mohammedanism. Under the Arabs the Christians of Persia were not in wholly unfavorable circumstances. Indeed the first two centuries of Mohammedan domination, especially under the Abbasids, were the most glorious period in the history of the Persian church. Though liable to excessive exactions, and to persecution, still they were recognized as the People of the Book; Nestorians were especially privileged, held offices of trust, and we see their missionaries like Timotheus, a patriarch of the church for forty years, zealously devoted to missionary work. Many monks traversed Asia, probably instrumental in establishing the Christians of St. Thomas in India, and certainly pene-

⁶ Catholic Ency. *History I. Persia*, Vol. XI, p. 716.

⁷ Catholic Ency. *Nestorianism*, Vol. X, p. 578.

⁸ Catholic Ency. *Christianity in Persia*, Vol. XI, p. 721.

⁹ Catholic Ency. *Persian Hist., D. Sassanian*, Vol. XI, p. 716.

trating China, as attested by the monument of Si-ngan-fu in Shensi which gives the history of Nestorian missions in China for 145 years (636-781). As far back as 334 there had been a church at Tus, famous as the city of Al Ghazali and the Persian epic poet, Ferdousi. Following this, churches were founded at Merv, Balkh and Samarkand. Christian artisans, including goldsmiths and jewelers, bankers and merchants, found employment in many Asiatic cities. Thomas of Marga relates that the patriarch Timothy sent his missionaries with a company of merchants traveling together to Mugan on the river Aras (Araxes).

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, due to comparative peace in these regions, there were large Christianized communities in Central Asia. A Mogul prince, Unkh Khan, gave name to the celebrated Presbyter John, and his successors were nominal Christians. Even a wife of Genghis Khan was said to have been a Christian.

"Yet in spite of all this, Christianity failed and Islam succeeded in gaining Central Asia, these Mongolian peoples, and the Iranian race." Why this conclusion? The reasons are given, ". . . not the great success of Islam itself, but internal dissension, ambitions, dishonesty and corruption among the clergy greatly contributed to the gradual dissolution of this wonderful church."¹⁰

These Mongolian invasions under Genghis Khan, and later the more severe scourge of Tamerlane, ruined the Iranian church, leaving only a small remnant of Nestorian Christians. These poor and destitute fugitive bands of Nestorian Christians fled to the fastnesses of the Zagros mountains in northwest Iran, where for succeeding centuries they existed in superstition and almost total ignorance of Bible truths, and of their glorious Christian heritage. Some had Bibles, but few read them. The result was a superstitious kind of religion with relics and forms and ceremonies scarcely better than the pagan beliefs and religions surrounding them.

The present condition of the church in Iran cannot ignore its beginnings in the mission of the American Board to these Nestorians, as it began with the coming of Dr. Justin Perkins and Dr. Asahel Grant in 1834. The first third of the nineteenth century effort for revitalizing this ancient Christian people of Iran is summed up in the purpose of the American Board, later restated by Dr. Perkins, viz.,

" . . . to enable the Nestorian church, through the grace of God to exert a commanding influence in the spiritual regeneration of Asia."¹¹

Dr. Justin Perkins, after spending eight glorious years among them, expressed his hope that this same Nestorian church would again

¹⁰ Catholic Ency. *Christianity in Persia*, III, Vol. XI, p. 722.

"send forth faithful missionaries of the Cross in such numbers and with such holy zeal, as shall bear the tidings of salvation to every corner of benighted Asia."¹¹

How well this noble purpose and great faith bore fruit was to be seen before the middle of that century, when, due to faithfulness and zeal in prayer, both on the part of these devoted missionaries and the supporting churches at home, enlisted for special prayer by the appeals of Dr. Stoddard, there followed great outpourings of the Holy Spirit. Wave after wave of revivals followed, thousands were converted, and churches and schools were organized and put in operation throughout the Urumiah plains of Western Iran and into the surrounding mountain villages. When events of that age forced the withdrawal and separate organization of these evangelical Christians, in the year 1871 they formed their own Synod called a Knusha with four presbyteries. By 1877 there were five self-supporting churches, by 1884 there were 1601 communicants. In the decade

"1885-1895 many church buildings were erected, and by the end of the decade this Synod comprized 25 organized churches, 48 other congregations, 36 ordained ministers, 30 licentiates, a communicant membership of 2300 with 6000 adherents. The record of that time says 'Church work is carried on by three Boards—Evangelistic, Educational, and Legal.'"¹²

How well the faith and vision of men like Justin Perkins was realized is seen in the period which follows, reaching up to World War I. Under the Presbyterian Board advance, with the new purpose to turn to the evangelization of Iranian Moslem peoples, new work was opened in six major cities of North Iran. But in each case evangelized Nestorian Christians had preceded American missionaries, or accompanied them, and laid the gospel foundation for opening work in Teheran, Hamadan, Tabriz, Resht, Kermanshah, and at Meshed in faraway Khorasan. To this day, church pastors of these same Iranian churches in Tabriz, Kermanshah and Meshed are sons of these ancient families of the revitalized remnant of the old Nestorian church!

The question arises: How shall we appraise the state and strength of a church? We perhaps apply certain tests such as the extent of its membership, the character of its leadership, its degree of self-rule and self-support, or its outreach in self-propagation. Or again we may inquire about its church buildings, schools, or other institutions, and its place or influence in the social order of which it is a part. Its place and influence is also revealed by its publications and its literary effort. According to the above counts we have viewed the church in Iran for the first centuries.

Iran's church today, Presbyterian and C.M.S. of the south combined, makes up a very small percent of the total population. Yet no

¹¹ *A Century of Missionary Work in Iran*—Chap. I, p. 2; Chap. II, p. 18.

¹² *A Century of Missionary Work in Iran*—Chap. VI, p. 108-9.

one would say they are not an active and effective leaven for the nation as a whole. Schools conducted by the church, and missions originally back of those church groups, have furnished and trained many national leaders, as well as medical, educational, social and nursing leaders for Iran. While the Iran church's missionary activity does not extend beyond her own borders, still we do find her evangelists and Bible men and women reaching into all areas and quarters, rural or urban, with a vital gospel message. The numerical and financial strength still lacks much of being what it must have been in those early centuries.

Church plans and buildings in the south have far excelled anything in the national church of the north. As to ordained pastors for organized churches, and plans for future training, again, the C.M.S. church leads the way. The Iran Diocesan Letter, No. 52, cites eight projects in Iran for future advance. All of these show vision and vigor for that part of the present-day Iranian church. Of special significance is the plan for the proposed Church Training Center. Of this Bishop W. J. Thompson, bishop in Iran, writes:

"We might call this a Theological College in embryo. . . . Our desire is to see such a center serve the whole church in Iran, and so we want to make this a joint effort with the church in the north of Iran. This is a place where we can cooperate even before church union takes place. In fact by this means we ought to be laying the foundations for such a union."¹³

In the recent production of good literature, both religious and secular books of high moral standard, so desperately needed for Iran's young people, the church in the north has taken the leadership; and today its publications, in spite of wartime restrictions and paper scarcity and cost, are among the very few that uplift in social and religious crusades.

If we are to test the church in Iran today by its organization, then again its advanced state and strength in the north lead the way. Indeed, in this particular, for the first time in all the centuries, it may truly be said, Iran has its first indigenous church! For we recall the statement above quoted concerning the stronger Nestorian church of the earlier centuries during the Sassanian period.

"Sassanian kings in general espoused the cause of Zoroastrianism; and though some of the dynasty favored Christianity, the national feeling always clung to ancient creeds. Many thousands of Persians embraced Christianity, but Persia remained the stronghold of Zoroastrianism. . . . And there never arose an indigenous Persian church, worshipping in the Persian language, and leavening the whole nation. The Persian church was of Syrian origin, traditions, and tendencies, and for about three centuries regarded Antioch as the center of its faith and the seat of its authority. When the Christian religion was accepted by Constantine

¹³ *The Iran Diocesan Letter*, No. 52, 1945, p. 3.

(A.D. 312) it was naturally regarded by the Persian Emperors as a religion of their rivals—the Romans. Religious and national feeling thus united against it.”¹⁴

The policy of the Presbyterian church U. S. A., when it took over the work of the American Board (Congregational) in 1870, was to expand the work to other centers in Iran and to evangelize Iranian Moslems with a view to building an indigenous church which should be self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting. To this end the missionaries and evangelists of this Board and its growing church have worked. From the time of the establishment of work in Teheran, Hamadan, and other cities of the north, the language used for Moslem evangelistic services has been prevaillingly the Persian language. The first quarter of the twentieth century saw increasing conversions of Moslems, until today the church numbers close to 2500 members, of whom approximately a third are Moslem converts.¹⁵ Summarizing the story, we find,

“In 1891 a beginning was made toward a new church organization, a presbytery of eastern Persia was formed. During the following year, this Presbytery ordained seven Persians to the gospel ministry and it made a translation of the Westminster Confession of Faith. In 1932 the Assyrian Evangelical Knusha, which was the Synod of the northwest Persia mission to the Nestorians, and which at one time counted over 3000 membership with many organized churches and groups, and its own ordained ministry, issued an invitation to all the Evangelical churches of northern Persia to join in a conference for formulation of plans for a unified organization. This conference, held in Hamadan, 1933, represented 26 organized churches and 45 unorganized groups with a total membership of 2272. And of the 26 official delegates, 16 were nationals. Iranians were elected moderator and clerk. A Findings Committee of seven was elected to draft a ‘Form of Organization.’ Their report, which was adopted, was in outline as follows: All Evangelical churches of north Iran were to be divided in three geographical groups, North, East, and West, and each was to form a ‘District Assembly’ called ‘Anjuman’ to be composed of all pastors and churches in the district. These were to meet annually and have oversight of the churches. They also were to elect 5 delegates each from among their own number to meet biennially in a general assembly, the first meeting to be held the following year. The proposal was submitted to all churches concerned and approved. The Assyrian Knusha became the Assembly of the north. At the first meeting of the new General Assembly, held in Sultana-bad in August 1934, Iranian officers were elected, and the meeting appointed committees and named the church ‘The Evangelical Church in Iran’ and confirmed the plan of organization adopted the previous year.”¹⁶

This essential framework and organization, modified and enlarged in the years since, as occasion demanded, has continued effectively to function and grow. In 1940 a Council was added for executive efficiency and to carry on *ad interim* work. In the General Assembly (Ittihadiyeh) of 1944 at Hamadan, action was taken voting to make

¹⁴ Catholic Ency.—*Christianity in Persia*, p. 721, Vol. XI.

¹⁵ 1933 membership was estimated at 2272.

¹⁶ See pp. 123-4, Chap. VI, *Evangelical Indigenous Church in Iran, A Century of Mission Work in Iran*.

this Council (which had been, at least in part, a coordinating committee between the church and mission) the adopted Council of the Evangelical church in Iran. At this same meeting requests were made by an overwhelming majority for a much more sweeping control and administration, not only of all phases of work of the church, but of the organized institutional work of the mission likewise. Budgets and finance were increased. Mr. C. H. Allen, writing concerning the same, reveals cause for encouragement when he says,

"The churches have made good progress this year in the raising of their budgets. I have been especially encouraged in the returns from the village churches. . . . I have been computing the amounts paid by the churches last year toward the salaries of their pastors and evangelists, assuming they paid what was in their budgets, and it comes to Rials 80,580. This year according to the budgets turned in, these churches are to pay Rials 164,860." (More than doubling last year.)

How fine it would have been could there have been among those three original District Assemblies (Anjumans) North, East, and West, a South Anjuman! For to secure a united church in Iran, both Presbyterians and C. M. S. missions have labored and counselled, through a standing Committee for Union, for several years. Dr. John Elder, who has been a member of this Committee on Union, writes—

"Just before I left, we had a meeting of the Committee in Teheran and reviewed the Ittihadiyeh's (National Assembly body) recommendations, reaching a compromise position regarding them. It was voted to print the plan as it now stands for wider study, and I hope to get that done soon. As you know, the previous proposals were accepted in principle by the Ittihadiyeh, but with recommended changes on details, while the Diocesan Council had approved them as they stand. However, the Archbishop of Canterbury wants them held up until the next Lambeth Conference, tentatively scheduled for 1948."

In the meantime, the two church bodies are cooperating in a very fine and happy way, and we believe it is the sincere desire of Iranians that there be one Evangelical church in Iran, self-ruling, self-propagating, and self-supporting, and not looking to America or England, or dependent upon New York or London. There may be some limitation of vision, such as a strong national ambition to administer all, without knowing that always such blessing carries willingness to assume full responsibilities for burdens of the church's program and finance. Or a limitation of vision for what L. S. Albright, in an article, "Missions After the War" affirms, viz.—

"The church is not an end in itself either, neither the older churches nor the younger churches. . . . The church is a means to an end—the establishment of the world-wide Kingdom of God! For a church to be indigenous does not necessarily mean for it to become nationalistic! It should become autonomous eventually, but long before that goal is reached it should become ecumenical, conscious of its place in the one Christian family on earth and in heaven."¹⁷

¹⁷ "Missions After the War," L. S. Albright—*Christian Century*, Nov. 29, '44.

But we believe that under able and wise leadership Iran's Evangelical church will come to this vision and ultimate convictions.

In a far better way, it seems to me, the state and strength of the Evangelical church of Iran is shown by her actions at the Tabriz meeting in 1941. At a time of crisis in national issues for the war period, when all was tense and very critical, this executive body of the Iranian church, under the leading of the Holy Spirit, boldly planned. And how exactly each year's program matched critical needs of the nation was to be seen before the end of this recent war. The four years' plan called for: a deepened spiritual life; an advance in Evangelism; a stewardship promotion; and a new emphasis in home and family life.

In 1941 the country of Iran was occupied by foreign armies. In this critical hour when their own nation's very existence seemed at stake, and many leaders, and many from the multitudes were tempted to greed, corruption and self-interest, just to "save their own lives," the church, as it had blocked out its program, was preaching a deepened spiritual life by way of the Cross!

"There is no gain but by a loss;
You cannot save, but by a cross;
The grain of wheat, to multiply,
Must fall into the ground and die."

New strength and new vitality became apparent in the new young church of Iran. Its appeal to young men and leaders was greater than ever.

In the second year of the occupying forces, at a time when competing propagandas were at their zenith, whether by radio, cinema, or by rapidly multiplying newspapers and magazines, and when each in his turn was trying to woo the "fair Iranian maiden" to convince her he was her most worthy and loyal suitor and only savior, the church was launching its greatest drive to put into the hands of every Iranian, not propaganda of competing imperialistic powers, but the Gospel of the Kingdom of God—that "to know the truth is to make one free." Over 50,000 separate publications, tracts, scripture portions or sermons were distributed throughout all Iran and evangelistic messages were given from end to end of the land.

A country cannot be invaded without its political status being completely upset. The result is too often economic chaos. When men of all parties and classes, and individuals from the multitudes, were easily tempted to seek selfish ends and forget those causes and principles of the greatest good for the greatest numbers; at such a time of economic chaos and much corruption and widespread suffering of the masses; when many leaders or groups forgot their sacred stewardship in material matters, again the Iranian Evangelical church, by leadership of God's Spirit, through its third year plan, was preaching stewardship:

that all we possess is a trust from God; that if a man misuses his trust he will be called to give an account, and he may be called to forfeit the stewardship to another more worthy to administer it for the good of his servants, dependents, his fellow men, be he individual or nation!

By the fourth year of the war, young men everywhere in Iran were despairing of old forms and usages and ideas and injustices, but they were also thinking. They were turning to that message which alone offers hope and a plan of salvation. They were seeing that only a religion can endure and prevail which makes better homes able to produce character. And that without character, in her people and leaders, a nation can lose its own soul and become a slave nation.

At such an hour, by the fourth-year plan, by individual effort of church members, by publications, by meetings and group discussions, by many individual conversations, and many sermons, the Evangelical church of Iran was proclaiming the good news of a new home and family life—redeemed, changed, unified, purified, and built up in Christ, whose Holy Spirit alone has power to make new creatures! Here is the foundation of any society—the salvation of any nation!

I visited the home of a young business man in Southeast Iran—just a humble two-room cottage it was—but I shall never forget the inner room with its mantle converted into a family altar with candles, a picture of Christ, and a place for a Bible. He invited me there that night for a consecration and naming ceremony for a newborn daughter! There, amidst his friends and associates, after we had partaken of tea, sweets, and nuts, this young convert from Islam brought to me his Bible and said, "Read a passage and pray, and then we'll name the little daughter."

In this one incident alone is gathered up the state, strength, and glory of the Evangelical church of Iran today. It is a new church, a very young church—evangelically speaking—yet its roots reach back through the centuries to the first traditional coming of St. Thomas. How many vicissitudes of the centuries, the trials by fire and sword, the dissensions and testings over creeds, the doubts occasioned by misunderstanding or heresies—only God himself knows! But it is still—and as never before—Iran's indigenous church, ready to put forth its fingers and to touch His nail prints, ready to stretch forth its hands and to place them in His side. And again, "to be not faithless, but believing." In the lives of her faithful members, of deep spiritual life and devotion and missionary, evangelistic spirit, and in her men and women of prayer, today, as in the years gone by, resides her strength and her glory, as she looks again upon her crucified Lord, and with Thomas, her beloved Apostle, cries out, "My Lord and my God!"

ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE EGYPTIAN VILLAGER

Rising above the narrow valley of the Nile river in a twentieth-century air liner one is amazed and fascinated at the satisfying landscape which stretches out beneath him. Like a huge green serpent, twisting and turning with the curves of the river, it seems somehow to vibrate with life. Here and there, rising above the flat valley floor, are tiny little villages nestled among tall stately palms. Flanked on either side of this fertile concavity rise dull barren mountains. And further back stretches the broad expanse of an eternity of sand.

Down on the ground and jostling among the inhabitants of this little valley country one quickly finds himself removed by centuries from the people who produced his air liner. With one stride, almost, it is possible to step back into the age that produced pyramids, pharaohs, and papyrus. There is perhaps no spot in all our world of today that in any measure equals this curious contrast.

But what of the people who inhabit this picturesque country known to us today as Egypt? It is they after all who produce the atmosphere of antiquity which inspires the archaeologist, the historian, or even the casual traveller with an awareness of the beauty of the past. How else could the past be understood or made meaningful without these present-day descendants of that past, acting out, on a stage set in perfect perspective, a way of life that has been practised and kept alive since the days when history was carved out with odd characters on limestone rock?

The Egyptian villager today as always is a tiller of the soil. The term "fellah," which term is used for almost every villager, means literally "one who tills." He invariably resides, with several hundred others, in small villages, going out daily to toil in the surrounding fields. He is of ordinary height, slight of build and muscular. His features are very even and, toiling hours in the heat of a burning sun, his skin color is even darker brown than it was by nature. His eyes are generally dark and almond-shaped. His nose is straight, though occasionally enlarged at the tip. His mouth is of medium size, the lips full and well shaped. His teeth are strong and regular. His hair is always black or dark brown, sometimes straight and glossy, but more often wavy and kinky. It is believed that there is very little difference between the men of today and the ancient Egyptians, as far as body dimensions are concerned. Skulls of Copts of the early centuries have been measured and found to be almost identical with those of the skulls found in pharaonic tombs.¹ Arabic is today the language of the land having, with the coming of the Muslim

¹ S. H. Leeder, *Modern Sons of the Pharaohs*, London, 1918, pp. 313-316.

conquerors, entirely displaced the ancient Coptic tongue which is used now only in the liturgy of the Coptic church.

The villager has always been industrious but an easy prey to the lords of the land. Herodotus relates that a pharaoh of the past, in attempting to cut a canal through to the Red Sea sacrificed a hundred and twenty thousand men to the task. History repeated itself in 1869 when at the expense of the easy-going fatalistic fellah, thousands more were dedicated to the triumphant passage of the present Suez canal.²

It is difficult to tell whether or not the general appearance and character of the modern Egyptian closely resembles the past. The Egyptologist does work out some rather striking parallels. For instance, the provincialism of the ancient Egyptian still faces the reformer today. And the lack of intellectual curiosity, which was the great flaw in ancient Egyptian civilization, is almost as noted today as it was in the dim ancient past.³ The reformer of today will try to ascribe the passivity of the Egyptian attitude to his Islamic fatalism, yet a closer study of this fact seems overwhelmingly to indicate that he had adopted a fatalistic attitude long before the birth of Islam.

The Egyptian villager dwells for the most part in a simple hovel made of sun-dried brick. The floors of these houses are made of beaten earth, as are the benches around the sides of the walls. The architecture of these simple dwellings is in all probability the same as that used by those who lived in Egypt before the time of Christ. Angles are usually askew, decorative art is conspicuous for its absence. Now and then, to designate the home of one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, little boats and crude images of people will be scrawled with red chalk or paint on whitewashed walls.

It would be difficult to calculate what the norm would be as regards the daily diet of the Egyptian villager. The British Commercial Mission recently endeavored to check the monthly expense of a fellah and arrived at the astonishingly low figure of two Egyptian pounds and ten piasters, roughly a little more than eight American dollars. This expenditure was mainly for food, which consisted almost entirely of cereals such as wheat and barley, and legumes of beans and peas, covering the needs of a normal family of five persons.⁴

In this same report it was discovered that to clothe his family the Egyptian peasant spends less than twenty dollars a year. His own garb consists mainly of a coarse cotton garment which is long and flowing and covers a vest and cotton pants. Rarely does he own a pair of shoes. A cheap turban is worn on his head, and in winter a woollen scarf will be thrown around his shoulders. Women wear always a long

² Robin Fedden, *The Land of Egypt*, London, 1939, p. 42.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴ Hilary Wayment, *Egypt Now*, Cairo, 1943, pp. 104, 105.

black dress that trails in the dust and hangs straight from the shoulders. A long shawl-like covering is worn over the head. Often the Muslim women wear a veil, but of late this item is frequently laid aside.

The land of Egypt is terribly over-crowded. Dr. Wendell Cleland, who is an authority in the field of Egypt's social problems, believes that right now Egypt with its seventeen million population has four and a half million people more than can be cared for, even with minimum requirements.⁵ It would be expected, then, that villagers living so close together would be forced to live under very trying and unwholesome conditions. Disease is very common and spreads rapidly. Probably the most widely spread and most insidious of all diseases which affect the lives of the Egyptian villager is Bilharzia. Between seventy and eighty per cent of the peasants suffer from this sinister and endemic disease. The cause of this disease is a parasitic worm which lives part of its life-cycle in a native snail which inhabits the stagnant waters of the canals and fields where the peasants are obliged to work. It seems to enter through the skin of the individual and migrates then to the veins of the pelvic region. The effect of this disease on the lives of the villagers is best described by Dr. Cleland when he says, "The burden of chronic illness and the deteriorating effects of the worm-diseases on both physical and mental activity make it difficult to arouse the people to any sense of need for social betterment."⁶

Women and children bear a very heavy share of the burden which the peasants of Egypt carry in life. Women are for the most part illiterate, children very often have little time free from the fields to attend school. And then, the social position of women in Egypt does not make for an improvement in the social distress of that land. Winifred Blackman, writing about this problem, makes this striking comment, "Until women are made fit to hold a higher position in their world there is little chance of the country taking a more exalted place among the nations of the earth."⁷

Religion plays a very important part in the life of practically every Egyptian villager. An ancient historian records this observation, "The Egyptians are religious to excess, far beyond any other race of men." Religious zeal thus noted seems not to have diminished with the passing of the years. Whether the disciple of Amon, Christ, or Mohammed, the Egyptian has been sincere, devout, ritualistic. It was to this valley-land that Mary and Joseph brought the child Jesus to find refuge from the terror of Herod. It was to this same country that

⁵ W. Wendell Cleland, "A Population Plan for Egypt." The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, October, 1944, pp. 412, 413.

⁶ W. Wendell Cleland, op. cit., p. 410.

⁷ Winifred S. Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, London, 1927, p. 36.

St. Mark, inspired with a burning zeal for a triumphant Christ, returned to become the founder of the Coptic Church. Christianity made rapid progress in those early centuries, perhaps because the people found in this new faith the best features of the old.*

When Arab invaders from the east descended upon Egypt, the Christian faith that had been so extensive in the country was practically supplanted. In 640 A.D. Amr bin al-Āṣ marched against Egypt and quickly won a decisive victory against the Byzantines, who were then the masters of the Nile Valley. Christian Egyptians quickly went over to Islam by the thousand, mainly to escape the economic sanction imposed upon all those who would not believe on the Prophet. Today ninety-two per cent of the Egyptians are adherents of the Islamic faith, and though Islam is divided into a number of sects, it seems to produce a typical mind in its adherents. "Under Islam, religion is a much more pervasive influence than it is in the west, for it not only creates personal beliefs about God, but gives form and substance to communal life. The legal code of the state, the basis for marriage and divorce, the rights of property and inheritance, the detailed rules for personal conduct—all are in large measure a creation of the religious system. Islam is not so much a state religion as a religion which is a state, embracing every part of life."⁸

Today Egypt is indubitably passing through a period of change, greater perhaps than at any period in her long, long history. War invariably brings peoples of various countries together and makes for an exchange of ideas and ideals. And to Egypt this is no exception. Even the peasant in the most distant village far removed from Cairo or Alexandria is aware of this change. Nationalism, a word long forgotten in Egypt, today swells in the breast of even the lowliest fellah. Education is being demanded and Egypt's government has indicated that free education will be made available to all just as soon as facilities for education can be created. This sort of transposition cannot long endure without producing change in the lives of every individual of the land. We, therefore, would do well to keep our eyes upon this change, affecting the fellah of Egypt and his tremendous problem, for in that changing pattern there may well lie a design for a more abundant way of life, a way that might easily lend itself to the solution of problems of other suppressed peoples in the world.

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* John S. Badeau, *East and West of Suez*, The Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1943, pp. 22, 23.

THE SANUSIS

The change of fortune which has come to the two provinces of Libya, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, by reason of the present war, has brought to public attention again a name that has long been connected with the history of these provinces, namely, that of the Sanusis. A century ago, in 1843, the founder of this Islamic brotherhood established his first headquarters in al-Zawiyah al-Baidah in the Jabal al-akhdar district in Cyrenaica. From this beginning the influence of the order extended until it became a ruling force in all the Libyan hinterland. In Cyrenaica in particular its influence has been dominant. The Sanusis of course were well known before the present turn of events focussed the attention of the world upon the land where their activities have been greatest. In fact, their activities have been followed with interest, not to say anxiety, by a number of the imperial powers of Europe for the greater part of the past one hundred years. It is interesting and instructive to read, in the light of the events of the past quarter century or more, some of the earlier estimates of the power and influence of the Sanusis and some of the apprehensive predictions of the dire chain of events that might be set in operation at the will of these "lords of the inner desert."

While, however, the conclusions in regard to the aims and influence of the Sanusis were based upon patient investigation, they were at the same time colored by political considerations incident to the partition of Africa by European powers. Moreover, fears were heightened by the difficulty encountered in keeping abreast of Sanusi activity, because of the vast expanse of desert which made approach to their strongholds difficult if not impossible.

In view then of what was known of the aims and activities of the Sanusis, as well as what was imagined, it is not wholly surprising that a legend should have grown up of a widespread and gradually accumulating force behind the barriers of the Libyan Desert, that would some day burst forth against the western Christian powers that were seeking to claim these regions for themselves, and might draw all Muslim countries into one great "holy war" against the Christian world. We shall not be able to understand much that has been written about the Sanusis unless we are sensible to some extent of the apprehension which the subject created when anything was known of it. As the legend grew, apprehension naturally increased: and in turn, as apprehension increased the legend grew apace. This concern, however much it may have seemed to be justified at the time, has to a considerable extent been falsified by events, as we can now see.

I.—THE FOUNDER

The Sanusis take their name from the founder of the order, Al-Sayyid Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Al-Sanūsī. Since the headship of the order, as is generally the case in the Islamic fraternities, is hereditary, the name al-Sanusi (Arabic, plural al-Sanūsiyyūn, or alternatively al-Sanūsiyyah) is the name both of the ruling family and of the fraternity which recognizes the authority of the family. The name is not uncommon in North Africa, and consequently the founder of the order is to be distinguished from others of the same name, particularly Abū 'Abd-Allah ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen (died 1490 A.D.), author of a theological work known by his name as "Al-Sanūsiyyah" or by the title "Umm al-Barāhīn." The family of al-Sanusi traces its lineage through the Idrisid dynasty, the "Sharifs" of Morocco, back to Ḥasan II, the son of Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib and Fātimah, the daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad, and thus to the prophet himself.

The founder of the Sanusi order, Muhammad ibn 'Alī al-Sanūsī, was born at a village near Mostaganem (Mustaghānim) in Algeria but the date of his birth is uncertain. It has been given as early as 1787 A.D. and as late as 1806, with various dates in between, such as 1791, 1792, 1796, 1803. What may be called the official Sanusi date is that commonly given in the Sanusi writings, namely, the 12th of Rabi' I, 1202, according to the Muslim calendar which corresponds to December 22, 1787, of the Christian calendar.¹

Al-Sayyid al-Sanusi, because he had an inclination to study, was given instruction by the best teachers who could be secured, first in his native country, at Mostaganem and then at Mazun, and still later at Fez, in Morocco, whither he had gone in pursuit of learning. The names of all these teachers have been cherished by later generation of the Sanusis, partly because their connection with the founder reflects glory upon his earlier teachers, and partly because the question of the origin of certain beliefs or practices becomes important where traditional authority is claimed for the tenets of the order. He studied exegesis of the Koran and the usual Islamic theological studies. He gained a reputation on account of his learning and was given a position of teaching, according to one story, and of editing and commenting on certain manuscripts, according to another story.

But in the meantime he had become interested in mysticism, having come under the influence of Shaikh Aḥmad al-Tijānī, the founder of the Tijāniyyah order, a Moroccan fraternity. He now left Fez and started on a pilgrimage to Mecca, partly because of dissatisfaction

¹ E.g.: *Al-anwār al-quḍsiyyah fī muquaddamāt al-tariqah al-Sanusiyyah*, by al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif. Constantinople, 1339-1342/1920-1923. p. 3. Also by founder's grandson, al-Sayyid Muhammad Idris, Introduction to work by al-Sayyid al-Sanusi, entitled: *Iqāz al-Wasnan fī'l-'amal bi'l-ḥadīth wa'l-Qur'ān*. First printing 1357/1938—Hijazi Press, Cairo.

with the instruction which he had thus far received and partly because he had apparently become concerned about the divided state of Muslims and was undertaking in a tentative way to instruct the people and call them to unity. At first he thought of settling at Laghuat in southern Algeria, which was a center of caravans leaving for and arriving from the Sudan, but later he concluded that his outreach from this place would be too restricted. So he continued on his journey eastward, preaching as he went about the general welfare of Islam. He stopped for a short time in Egypt where Muḥammad 'Alī, nominally the Turkish viceroy of Egypt, was entering upon his amazing career of military power and intellectual and cultural revival that marked the emergence of modern Egypt. From Egypt he continued his journey to the Ḥijāz where he studied with a number of Shaikhs both of Madina and Mecca.

The one of the shaikhs of Mecca who proved to have the greatest influence upon the life of al-Sanusi was Al-Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Idrīs al-Fāsi (1750-1835), the head of the Moroccan fraternity of the Khaḍiriyyah or Khidriyyah, an off-shoot of the Shādhiliyyah order, founded in 1713 A.D. This man, who was known as a great scholar and mystic, had gathered about him a considerable number of followers whom he eventually organized into an order of his own, known as the Khaḍiriyyah-Idrīsiyyah. Al-Sanusi became an ardent follower and one of his chief disciples, remaining with him until the teacher's death, even following him into a two years' exile from Mecca into Yemen, occasioned by the opposition of the doctors of the Malikite rite of canon-law in Mecca. On the death of the teacher, the order broke up into two factions, one led by al-Sanusi and the other by a certain Shaikh Muḥammad Sāliḥ al-Magharani. Both leaders returned to Mecca and each organized his party into a separate order, each order bearing the name of its founder. The one was the Sanusi order, the other became known as the Mirghāniyyah order which has flourished in the Sudan and Nubia.

Both the Sanusi order and the Mirghāniyyah order established, each its zāwiyah (Arabic, plural zawāyā), or house of the order, at or near Mecca. The zāwiyah of the Sanusi order was at Mt. Abū Qubais, near Mecca. The year commonly given for the founding is 1837, which is considered the official date for the beginning of the order. From this center the order spread to important places in the Hijaz. It is stated that from these centers an attempt was made to teach the Beduin agriculture as well as Islam and that soon all the caravans between Mecca and Madina were in the hands of the Sanusis. But about 1840 al-Sanusi was forced to leave Mecca, some say because of the opposition of the religious authorities. There is however, a hint of a political reason in the statement that he held that the Turks had

usurped the Caliphate, which should, according to orthodox Islamic belief, belong only to the Quraish tribe of the Arabs.² After leaving Mecca, he returned to Cairo, but stayed only about three months and then continued on his way to North Africa.

After preaching his ideas of unity at the Siwa oasis and a number of other inner oases, he finally arrived at Benghazi in Cyrenaica. For a time he thought of making that city his center of operations. But since this was a coastal city and within reach of Turkish influence, for Tripolitania and Cyrenaica at that time were nominally under the rule of Turkey, he decided to retire further into the interior to escape all Turkish influence. Accordingly, he went to the place now known as al-Baida, where he built his first zāwiyah in North Africa, known as "al-Zāwiyah al-Baida," that is, "the white zāwiyah." This was in 1843. Up to this time he had been a wandering teacher and preacher. Now he definitely settled at a point which seemed to him to be centrally located with reference to caravan traffic from the Sudan to the coast and also with reference to the Beduin tribes of the interior. From this center he began to reach out to influence the tribes, sending out his emissaries to persuade the tribes to build zawiyaḥs (zawāyā).

About 1856, not long after his return from a second journey to the Hijaz, he decided to remove from al-Baida and penetrate farther into the interior. Two considerations seem to have led to this move: first, was fear of Turkish interference, for the Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II himself seems to have sent to al-Sanusi inviting him to come to visit him. The second reason was his desire to strengthen his influence in the southern reaches of the Libyan Desert. Accordingly he established his new center at the oasis of Jaghubub (Jarabub), far in the interior. Although not valuable as a fertile oasis, the place was important strategically, being midway between tribes to east and west who were constantly in conflict. By settling in their midst he was able to resolve many feuds.

Here al-Sanusi built a zāwiyah and established his headquarters and started schools which have eventually developed into the educational center of the Sanusi brotherhood. A library was accumulated, according to one account consisting of eight thousand volumes. Unfortunately, this library has suffered from the fortunes of war during the present conflict, not while it was at Jaghubub, but in the process of removal from one place to other, presumably safer places, which proved in the end to be more hazardous. As an illustration of the way in which the influence of the order was extended from this center, the case of the Kufra Oasis may be cited. The Zwaya tribe of Beduin, known as the brigands of Cyrenaica, one of the tribes inhabiting the

² Cf. Carlo Giglio, *La Confraternita Senussita dalle sue Origini ad Oggi*. Padua, 1932 X. p. 11.

series of oases which are collectively known as Kufra, invited al-Sanusi to establish a zāwiyah in their midst, agreeing on their part to give up thieving and raiding and offering one third of all their property in Kufra. Al-Sanusi accordingly sent one of his assistants who established the first zawiyah in Kufra at the oasis of Jof (Jawf).³

The story of the winning of influence in Wadai, in the central Sudan, is also illustrative of his methods. While a student at Mecca, al-Sanusi had won the friendship of Muhammad Sharif, a prince of Wadai who in 1838 became Sultan of that country. From Jaghbub al-Sanusi renewed his friendship with the Sultan and eventually won a position of pre-eminence for his order among the people of Wadai. Al-Sanusi is also said to have purchased a caravan of slaves coming from Wadai, freed them and, after having given them a period of instruction at Jaghbub, sent them to Wadai to spread his principles as his emissaries. Before his death all the Beduin on the western frontiers of Egypt and all over Cyrenaica had become his disciples. But it was under his son and successor that the order attained its greatest extension.

On September 7, 1859, on the 9th of Safar, 1276, according to the Muslim calendar, al-Sayyid Muḥammad ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi, sometimes referred to by way of distinction as the Grand Sanusi, died and was buried at Jaghbub. His followers have erected over his grave a tomb which is richly adorned and is a center of pilgrimage and place of blessing for all his followers.

Al-Sanusi has been described as a man of great height and imposing appearance. He seems to have been an eloquent speaker and a wise teacher judging from his success in winning disciples. Besides the impression of moral and intellectual superiority which he made upon those who met him, he also made an impression of superior sanctity and gained a reputation for the possession of extraordinary spiritual powers. These powers have descended in the line of the family, according to common belief. It would seem that al-Sanusi encouraged in his followers a belief in his special position by holding himself aloof from ordinary intercourse. He is also said to have kept his face covered with a veil. However this may be, he must be allowed to have had unusual powers of organization and a very practical sense of affairs.

II.—THE FIRST SUCCESSOR—AL-SAYYID AL-MAHDI

When the founder of the Sanusi order died he left two sons, Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Sanusi, born 1844, and Muhammad Sharif al-Sanusi, born 1846. Since the elder of the two, al-Mahdi, who would naturally succeed his father according to the principle of elder son succeeding elder son, was still under age, a regency council of ten

³ Cf. Ahmad Hasanein, *The Lost Oases*, London, 1925, p. 50.

sheikhs was appointed to direct affairs until al-Mahdi attained his majority. Among them were some able men who had been collaborators with the father. When al-Mahdi attained his majority, he associated his younger brother with him in the rule of the order, assigning the religious instruction to him, it is said, while he himself retained the chief direction of affairs. The position of al-Mahdi among the Sanusis was particularly strong, not only because of the prestige of the family but also because of the expectations associated by the masses of his followers with the idea of the "Mahdi" or "hidden imam," expectations which they not unnaturally transferred to their own leader because of his name, al-Mahdi. There is no evidence to lead to the conclusion that al-Sayyid al-Mahdi claimed to be himself the expected Mahdi, although it cannot be questioned that certain legends along this line became associated with his name which served to enhance his prestige and that of the order. It has to be remembered also that during the last quarter of the nineteenth century expectations of the appearance of such a leader were rife in Muslim lands because of the appearance in the Sudan during the years 1881-1882 of Muhammad Ahmad of Dongola who claimed openly to be the Mahdi and for a time gained wide-spread successes.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the Mahdi of the Sudan approached al-Mahdi al-Sanusi, offering him the position of being the fourth of his "khalifahs," as he called his chief assistants and supporters. The Sudan Mahdi no doubt thought by this offer to gain over the support of the Sanusi order to his cause. But al-Mahdi al-Sanusi refused the offer rather disdainfully, although it was repeated more than once, and forbade his followers to lend any support to the Mahdi uprising in the Sudan.

This refusal to join forces with the Sudan Mahdi was not the only occasion when al-Mahdi al-Sanusi refused to lend military assistance. The leaders of the 'Arabi rebellion in Egypt during the year 1882 besought his help through a diversionary attack upon Egypt from the west but he refused. Similarly, in 1881 he rejected Italian proposals for an alliance against French advances in Tunisia. When the Sultan of Turkey asked for troops to help him in the war against Russia in 1876-1878, not a man was allowed to go. The Rohlf's expedition of 1872 on behalf of Germany, asking al-Mahdi al-Sanusi to take up a "Holy War" against the French, was stopped before reaching al-Mahdi's headquarters and was not permitted to meet al-Mahdi himself. All this has a bearing upon the question whether the brotherhood has cherished military aims from the beginning.

During the leadership of al-Mahdi the Sanusi order reached the highest point of its spread and influence. Al-Mahdi was an able leader, an eloquent speaker although not a writer and he gained a

great reputation for sanctity and was even credited with the performance of miracles. In 1895 he removed his headquarters from Jaghub Southward to Kufra, to the oasis of Jof (Jawf). Again the reasons for change, as in the earlier change to Jaghub, were first, fear of Turkish interference, for by now the growing power of the Sanusis had attracted the attention of the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II, who would have liked to have the support of the Sanusis in his pan-Islamic designs; and second, the desire to influence more directly and powerfully the peoples of the south Sahara and the central Sudan, where the French were beginning to make their imperialistic advances toward the north felt. In 1899 he again changed his base, this time to Gouro (Guru), to meet more directly the challenge of the French advance in the Lake Chad region. He encouraged the Sanusi brethren to resist the French advance. This resort to arms, it should be noted, was only in response to unprovoked assault by the French in pursuit of colonial expansion. But even resort to arms proved unavailing in the attempt of the Sanusis to keep the French out of Kanem, north east of Lake Chad. For in January, 1902, the French won a severe engagement at Bir Alali, which proved decisive, although the French had to keep up guerilla fighting for eleven years longer before they finally established their power over all the North Central Sudan area.

Shortly after the engagement referred to al-Mahdi died, on May 30, 1902. One cause which has been assigned for his death was chagrin or disappointment over the inability of his followers to hold the French in check. Another is that he was wounded in the fighting at Guru and died of his wounds. He was buried either at Guru or Tasch. Later his body was removed to Kufra where it now lies buried. It is significant that the Sanusis themselves never speak of his having died but only of his having "disappeared." There is a legend among the Sanusi followers, it is said, that he will one day reappear among his people as the Mahdi is expected to do. Even the account given by his successor, al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif al-Sanusi, refers to his "disappearance" thus: "His disappearance from human sight, because of some wise purpose on the part of God, the Gracious One," was on the forenoon of Sunday, 24th Safar, 1320, A.H. which corresponds to June 2, 1902 A.D.⁴ It should be added, however, that the present head, al-Sayyid Idris, son of al-Sayyid al-Mahdi, wishes it to be understood that the orthodox belief of the order in regard to al-Sayyid al-Mahdi is that he died, although not from wounds received in fighting against the French, for he was not personally present in the fighting. Al-Sayyid Idris also adds that al-Sayyid al-Mahdi did not claim to be the expected Mahdi.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 3.

III.—THE SECOND SUCCESSOR, AL-SAYYID AHMAD AL-SHARIF AL-SANUSI

On the death of al-Sayyid al-Mahdi the headship of the order passed to his nephew, al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif al-Sanusi, the eldest son of his brother Muhammad al-Sharif who died in 1896. Al-Mahdi left two sons, al-Sayyid Muhammad Idris al-Mahdi al-Sanusi the elder and al-Sayyid al-Riḍa al-Sanusi, but the elder of the two was still too young to succeed. It may be mentioned here that an interesting question of the succession and perhaps an important one, affecting the future of the order, was brought about by the headship passing to the nephew rather than directly to the oldest surviving son, as had taken place in the succession of al-Mahdi to his father, the founder. Was it intended that the succession should pass from eldest son to eldest son continuously? In which case, al-Sayyid Idris, the older of al-Mahdi's two sons, would be the real successor and al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif, who actually assumed the rule, would, in reality, be acting as regent of al-Sayyid Idris until he came of age. Or did al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif take over in his own right as the oldest and most responsible member of the family? And is the succession to be on this principle rather than that of lineal succession?

Soon after his accession as head, al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif transferred the headquarters from Guru back to Kufra, in 1902. He continued the policy of resisting the French, begun by his predecessor. At the same time, the general remark has to be made regarding the character of his leadership that it was during the period of his direction that the Sanusis passed from a merely defensive warfare to an aggressive attitude that led to their becoming involved with Turkey and Germany against Britain and her allies in Egypt during the first World War and the events of the Italian conquest that have been so disastrous for the Sanusis themselves. When the Italians in their war with Turkey in 1911 invaded Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, the Sanusis gave help to the Turks because al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif had been won over to the pan-Islamic ideals of the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II, even while at the same time rejecting the claims of the Ottoman sultans to the caliphate on the ground that the caliphate belongs only to the Arabs. When Turkey in 1911 signed the Treaty of Lausanne with Italy because of conditions within the empire, she made over the rule of Tripolitania to al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif by decree of the Sultan Muhammad V, rather than acknowledge the rule of a Christian nation over a Muslim country.⁵ Ahmad al-Sharif accordingly continued to fight against the Italians up to the outbreak of the Great War. During that interval, the Italians were unable to conquer more than the coast line while the Sanusis held control of the interior of both Tri-

⁵ *Majallat al-ithnain* (Cairo-weekly periodical), August 12, 1940, article: "The Uncrowned Kings of Tripoli."

poli and Cyrenaica. With the entrance of Italy into the Great War on the side of the Allies, the Sanusis were thrown on to the side of the Turks.

It would seem to have been a part of German strategy that the Sanusis should attack Egypt from the west in the hope of inciting a general Beduin uprising in western Egypt and the Nile Valley while a Turkish attack was being made on the Suez Canal and the Sultan 'Ali Dīnār of Darfur in the Sudan would move on Egypt from the south. Ahmad al-Sharif, seemingly reluctant to break with the British, delayed his action as long as possible but finally moved against Sol-loum in November, 1915. In a number of engagements at the end of 1915 and during the early months of 1916 the Sanusi forces were defeated and driven back from the border by the British. Finally, in February, 1917, the remnant of the Sanusi forces, under Ahmad al-Sharif, were driven out of the Siwa Oasis and dispersed. Al-Sayyid Ahmad himself retired to Jaghub and the population began submitting to the Italians.⁶ In fact, the people had for some time been in a desperate state through lack of food, since the Italians held the coast and the British lines prevented the arrival of supplies from Egypt. They therefore began to surrender their arms in exchange for a little rice. They also sent delegates to al-Sayyid Idris al-Sanusi asking him to sue for terms of peace. Accordingly, representatives of the Sanusis met with an Italian delegation and separately with a British delegation. Finally in April, 1917, the "Modus Vivendi of Acroma" was agreed on between the Sanusis and the Italians, and the "Talbot-Idris Agreement," otherwise called the "Treaty of Tobruk," between the Sanusis and the British.⁷

With hostilities thus brought to an end, and the Sanusi shaikhs having acknowledged al-Sayyid Idris as the Sanusi head, there was nothing left for al-Sayyid Ahmad Sharif to do but to leave Cyrenaica. In August, 1918, he therefore left in a German submarine to go to Constantinople. Thereafter his career was checkered and tempestuous. After a period of agitation in Constantinople on behalf of pan-Islamism, he sought to be made king of the new state of Iraq but failed. Returning to Constantinople after the victories of Mustafa Kamal, he tried to re-establish the caliphate. But failing to gain the approval of Kamal for this idea, he went to Damascus. France, however, found his presence embarrassing and sent him away in 1924. From thence he went to the Hijaz. His death occurred at Madina on

⁶ For accounts of the Sanusi campaigns, cf. P. G. Elgood, *Egypt and the Army*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1924, pp. 270-274; W. T. Massey, *The Desert Campaigns*, London, 1918; G. McMunn and C. Falls, *Military Operations, Egypt and Palestine*, (official), 1927; S. C. Rolls, *Steel Chariots in the Desert*, London, 1937, esp. Ch. II, pp. 20, ff.; Capt. Gwatkin Williams, R. N., *In the Hands of the Sanussi*, London, 1916; Enc. Brit., eds. 1929, 1942, etc. art. *The Sanussi or Senussites*. etc.

⁷ For general account of negotiations, cf. Carlo Giglio, op. cit. pp. 83-88.

the 14th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 1351. A.H., corresponding to March 10, 1933, A.D.; and there he was buried.

IV.—THE THIRD SUCCESSOR, AL-SAYYID MUHAMMAD IDRIS AL-MAHDI AL-SANUSI

Although Ahmad Sharif claimed to remain the head of the Sanusi order in spite of his leaving Cyrenaica in 1918, the actual direction of its affairs had been in the hands of al-Sayyid Idris since Ahmad al-Sharif left and as already mentioned, the Sanusi chiefs had acknowledged the leadership of al-Sayyid Idris. Italy, by the "Accord of Regima (Rajmah)" in 1920, conferred upon him the hereditary title of "Amir," with the right of administration of the oases of Jalo, Jaghub, Aujilah, and Kufra. The fumbling attempt of the Italians to establish a constitution and representative government were not thought well of by the Beduin chieftains. And, in any event, all these attempts became of no avail by the advent of the Fascist party to power in 1922. Thereafter a policy of thorough conquest of the country was followed by Italy. The Tripolitans, led by al-Sayyid Safi al-Din, brother of al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif, submitted in 1928. In Cyrenaica, the leader of the Sanusi forces in the field was the noted 'Umar al-Mukhtar. Al-Sayyid Idris, the head of the Sanusis, went to Egypt in 1923, whither other members of the family eventually followed him. Marshall Badoglio as governor of the two provinces, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, united into one, tried for a time a more conciliatory policy. But it remained for General Graziani to complete the conquest, through his relentless policy of extermination, by which he earned for himself the title of "the Butcher." On June 3, 1930, he closed all the zawiyahs, exiled all their shaiyks, and confiscated all the property belonging to the zawiyahs. On September 16, 1931, the leader 'Umar al-Mukhtar, who had been captured a few days earlier, was hanged with a number of other Arab leaders. On January 24, 1932, Badoglio announced publicly that Cyrenaica had been entirely subjugated.⁸

It is thus evident that, at the beginning of the present war, the fortunes of the Sanusis had suffered a serious decline. At the present time many of the Sanusis have settled as exiles in the western desert of Egypt, also along the coast, and in the Egyptian provinces of Buhaira, Fayum and Minya. The present headquarters of the Sanusi family are at Abu Ruwash near the Pyramids, while al-Sayyid Idris himself lives in Cairo.

It would be rash to try to predict what the future of the order will be and to try to anticipate the degree to which the order will recover

⁸ The fullest account of the Italian conquest as it affected the Sanusis is to be found in Carlo Giglio, *op. cit.*, Chs. X-XII, pp. 88ff.

its former extent and influence. Much will, of course, depend upon the political status of Libya (Cyrenaica and Tripolitania) after the present war. If one may augur from the character of the present leader, al-Sayyid Idris, one may anticipate that the order will be less aloof and less intransigent and un-co-operative with non-Muslim peoples and governments than under former leaders. The present leader is a man who has had wide experience of European life and contact with European leaders such as was not possible for any previous heads of the order. Furthermore, his personal characteristics promise well for a peaceful and prosperous development of his people, since he is a man of dignity and gentleness and poise of character and balanced judgment. The opinion of Hasanein Bey may be quoted in this connection: "He derives a considerable part of the prestige which he undoubtedly possesses from the fact that he is the son of al-Mahdi. But even without that advantage, his own personal qualities would be adequate foundation for success in the important position to which he has been called. He combines gentleness of disposition with firmness of character to a high degree."⁹ The opinion expressed by Carlo Giglio, the Italian writer, while not so favorable in its judgment of his character, nevertheless concludes: ". . . but above all, (he is) so religious as never to go back on his promises."¹⁰

V.—ORGANIZATION

Mention has been made in what has gone before of the *zawiyah* (or *zawia* as sometimes spelled) the religious house of the order. The *zawiyah* has proved to be the center about which the adherents of the order are organized locally, whether in the towns or in the midst of a Beduin tribe. It has thus been the most important of the means by which the influence of the order has been extended and its expansion made possible.

The use of the word is not peculiar to the Sanusis. Originally signifying the corner of a dwelling, the word came to be applied to the cell of the Christian monk, then to places of refuge or retirement for mystics or holy men, first for the exercises of the religious life and later for the extension of mystical teachings and practices among the people. Although there are resemblances between the *zawiyah* and the Christian monastery, the idea of celibacy does not belong to the *zawiyah*.

As developed by the Sanusis, the *zawiyah* is a center of cultivation and colonization. When a *shaikh* was sent by the Sanusi leader as his representative to become a teacher and establish a center within the territory of a given tribe—or, as sometimes happened, when the tribe

⁹ A. M. Hasanein, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹⁰ Carlo Giglio, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

itself invited the Sanusi leader to send a representative—the shaikh encouraged the members of the tribe to set aside cultivable land for the benefit of the zawiyah and to erect the buildings of the zawiyah by their own labor. The building or series of buildings, the extent of which depended upon the importance of the center, commonly consisted of two parts or divisions. One part was for the residence of the shaikh or head of the zawiyah and his family. The other section of the building or buildings was devoted to the three general purposes of mosque, school and guest house. One room served as mosque. Another section of the building was given over to rooms or cells for students who might come for longer or shorter periods to study at the mosque-school. These rooms could also on occasion serve as cells for religious vigils. A third section furnished accommodations for caravans, travellers, refugees, or any comer, to whom the traditional Arab hospitality of three days was extended. This section also contained store rooms where supplies, caravan goods, and the like could be put in safe keeping. The whole of the building or buildings was constructed about an inner square or courtyard, where caravans might load or unload, and animals be tethered. A well was usually enclosed within the courtyard or was within easy reach. The whole establishment could be fortified as need required and could serve as a fortress or military center, as indeed happened when necessity for fighting arose.

Round about the buildings of the zawiyah were the lands which were cultivated by the Ikhwān or initiated brethren of the order. Any Arab from any tribe or territory might come and settle upon the land and become one of the Ikhwān. The zawiyah was thought of, however, as belonging to the tribe within whose territory it was settled and for the most part the Ikhwān of the zawiyah were made up of members of the tribe. The zawiyah was thus a center of tribal unity as well as a center for the unity and control of the order as a whole. Members of the tribe who were not living on the land of the zawiyah could contribute days of labor to the zawiyah as required, such as during seasons of sowing and reaping. An individual member of the Ikhwān could claim a portion of the land as his own for cultivation but could not sell it or otherwise dispose of it. The surplus income from the zawiyah lands, trade, etc., after provision has been made for the upkeep of the zawiyah, the living of the shaikh and his family and that of the Ikhwān attached to the zawiyah, accrues to the head of the order. Whatever this sum may be, it is over and above the “legal alms” (*zakāt*) due from all Muslims, which in the case of the Sanusi tribesmen are paid to the Sanusi head; and is also over and above any other taxes or tribute which the head may levy upon his followers.

The *zāwiyah*, according to its location, is also a center or station for the encouragement and protection of the caravan trade between

the Mediterranean coast and the Central Sudan. For in the development of the trade routes the Beduin tribesmen could profit, not only by the carrying trade but could themselves engage in trade and merchandising. This was one of the measures by which the founder of the order thought to improve the economic position of the Beduin. In the days when the Sanusi influence was at its height, this objective was largely attained, for the caravan track to the north by way of Kufra became well beaten.

Each *zawiyah* was under the administration of a shaikh (known generally as *muqaddim*), who, in the first instance, was appointed by the head of the order and was thus directly responsible to the head and received orders from him. When, in the course of time, a successor became necessary, the head of the order again appointed the shaikh, although generally taking care that the appointment met with the approval of the tribe in whose territory the *zāwiyah* was located. Not infrequently the succession was retained within a single family. The shaikh or some one appointed by him gave instruction to the students at the *zāwiyah* and to the tribesmen round about in the principles of the order and in the doctrines of Islam. He also, or another official appointed to the office, acted as *qādi* or judge to settle disputes and adjust claims, applying in general tribal law. He also did useful work on occasion by mediating in quarrels between tribes. He also received tribute and collected taxes. While in the larger *zawiyahs* these various functions would be lodged in several individuals, in the smaller ones all these functions were performed by the one individual.

Thus, through the *zāwiyah*, a close-knit organization was built up which bound even the remotest brethren of the order to the head and enabled the head of the order to put his plans into effective operation. It will at once be apparent that the Sanusi leaders had made themselves masters of a vast bureaucratic system which enabled them to wield a widespread influence. That it has some of the marks of a state is evident from the various functions performed by the organization. That political aims were uppermost, and particularly military designs, is, however, denied by those who have studied the history of the development of the order sympathetically. There is much to support their claim that the religious and economic aims of the order have been sufficiently demonstrated in what has been accomplished. Although the order did finally resort to arms, it was only when they were forced to do so by the aggression of other states.

The number and distribution of the Sanusi *zawiyahs* has occasioned much discussion but has met with little agreement. The general tendency has been to overestimate the number of *zawiyahs* and of the Sanusi adherents, for reasons already mentioned. The number of *zawiyahs* at the height of the movement has been placed as high as

three hundred. But this is manifestly only an estimate and an approximation in round numbers. Duveyrier listed thirty-eight in Cyrenaica for 1884. The number given by Depont and Coppolani for the same region in 1897 was thirty-three and by Agostini in 1923 was thirty-seven. The Italians in their war against the Cyrenaicans destroyed almost all the zawiyahs. Major Evans-Pritchard, well-known British anthropologist, listing the zawiyahs in Cyrenaica according to the tribes to which they were considered as belonging, arrives at a total of fifty-three. This would seem to be the most careful and accurate listing that has been made. The number of Sanusi zawiyahs in the Hijaz (Saudi Arabia) has been given as fourteen, which may be taken as fairly accurate. Hasanein in his account for 1923 gives the number for Egypt as "nearly a score." This is evidently an approximation. The number is not likely to be more than this, as one of the conditions to which the Sanusi leaders agreed, on taking up residence in Egypt, was that they would not extend their order in Egypt. The order met with its greatest success, outside of Cyrenaica, among the Negroes of the Sudan, in the Wadai and Darfur regions and to a more limited degree among the Tuareg of the central Sahara. Because of French hostility no foothold was gained in Algeria and Tunis and Morocco. Carlo Giglio, already quoted, writing in 1932, estimated thirty-eight Sanusi zawiyahs outside of Cyrenaica, those of Cyrenaica having been destroyed by the Italians. Accepting this number as substantially correct for the countries outside of Cyrenaica, and accepting Major Evans-Pritchard's figure of fifty-three for Cyrenaica, it will be seen that the number of zawiyahs is never likely to have been much above one hundred, even at the period of its widest extension.

In trying to estimate the present influence of the order, consideration has to be given to the crushing misfortunes that have befallen it in the destruction of the zawiyahs and the exile of many of their leaders. Account also has to be taken of the fact that the decades of struggle and of unsettled life have made impossible any consistent instruction of the people, with the result that the great mass of the people of Cyrenaica, even including the shaikhs themselves, are ignorant of the principles and aims of the order. The religious influence of the order has thus been greatly weakened and restricted. At the same time, it has to be recognized that its political influence has probably been strengthened. For the fact that the Sanusi leaders have been the center and inspiration of the prolonged resistance to the Italians has cemented the loyalty of the Cyrenaican people to the Sanusi leaders. The result is that the great majority of the people, whether towns-men or tribes-men, whether formally members of the order or not, consider themselves to be followers of al-Sayyid Idris al-Sanusi, in the political sense, if not in the religious sense.

VI. RELATION TO SUFISM AND THE SUFI ORDERS

It will be recalled that the founder, al-Sayyid Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi, became greatly interested in Sufism (as Islamic mysticism is called), and sought and received initiation into a number of well-known orders because it would seem that already the idea was working in his mind of uniting the various orders or of making them mutually tolerant and inclusive rather than intolerant and exclusive. Because the Sanusi Tarīqah (order, the Arabic name, literally "way") has roots in various Sufi tarīqahs through the connection with them established by al-Sayyid al-Sanusi, its founder, the tarīqah is known as the Sanūsiyyah Idrīsiyyah Qādiriyyah Nāsiriyyah Shādhiliyyah Tarīqah, as described by al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif in his introduction to a book of wirds or devotional forms used by the order.¹¹ He adds that all of the orders named are Muhammadiyyah, that is, they go back to the prophet Muhammad; and the Sanūsī tarīqah more than the others, not only because it follows the Sunnah (the "Custom" of the prophet, embodied in the Books of Tradition) down to the minutest detail, but especially because the various saints who are recognized as the authoritative teachers of the order are held to have had mystic contact with the prophet. Thus, of the immediate founder Ahmad al-Sharif says in his book already referred to: "We have always counted it one of our greatest privileges that our Shaikh used to receive communications directly from the prophet without intermediary, and what he was able to pass on he was accustomed to bestow on his disciples."¹² Besides the connection with the prophet by way of direct contact, the order claims connection by a chain of authorities (Arabic, sanad), going back to the prophet through Hasan al-Sibt, grandson of the prophet through his daughter Fātimah. The combination of the two means of connection may be illustrated by the claim of an illustrious teacher of the order, al-'Arā'ishī, that he was taught by his shaikh how to repeat the shahādah (*Lā ilāha illa Allah*, etc., "There is no deity except Allah," etc.) and his shaikh claimed that the prophet taught him how to say it. Another shaikh claimed that he had heard the prophet himself repeat the "prayer for the prophet" which is a prominent feature of the devotions of the order.

It would seem that this order holds that mystic contact with the prophet is possible, not only for the great saints and teachers of the order but also for all members who are willing to follow the prescribed methods for arriving at this goal. In this respect this order is distinguished from the majority of the Islamic fraternities, which are ecstatic, that is, seek by means of the zikr or other prescribed devotional exercises to induce a state of ecstasy during which the worship-

¹¹ *Al-anwār al al-quḍsiyyah*, p. 4.

¹² *Idem.*, p. 58.

per loses consciousness of the restraints of the physical senses and of his bodily existence and gains direct contact with God and attains "union" with him. The ideal of the Sanusi order, in contradistinction from this, would seem to be to attain direct contact with the prophet rather than with the deity. In this sense Margoliouth remarks: "The main purpose of Sufism, viz., union with the deity, does not appear to have lain within his (i.e., the founder's) scope."¹³ That the vision of the prophet is the highest attainment to be reached by the members of the Sanusi order seems evident from a saying of al-Sayyid al-Sanusi quoted by Ahmad al-Sharif: "Among the peculiar characteristics of this Muhammadi Tāriqah is dependence upon the prophet and the referring of all affairs to him, and for this reason it is called by this name Muḥammadiyyah, even though all the tariqahs are traced back to him."¹⁴ When the man has attained this vision of the prophet, he can ask his advice about whatever of his affairs is of most concern to him. But the caution is added that this result is something that cannot be attained except by spiritual discernment.¹⁵ However, prayer formulae (wirds and hizbs) are prescribed in the books of devotion which are said to be effective in securing the desired result, namely, the vision of the prophet. Thus, the following is an example of the instructions which frequently occur in the introduction to the collection of wirds of al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif, called al-Anwār al-Qudsiyyah:

"I charge you to keep continuously before you the form of the prophet and the idea of him, for if you continue to summon up his form and his person before you, especially at the time when you repeat prayers on his behalf in any form whatever (you will have the vision of him), but the most excellent of these forms of prayer and the most effective in producing the vision of him is the prayer called al-Azimīyyah."

The following is a translation of al-'Aẓimīyyah Prayer—so called because of the recurring expression "the great" (al-'Aẓīm):

"O God, I ask thee by the light of the face of the great God, who filled the pillars of the throne of the great God, and through whom the worlds of the great God came into existence, to bless our Master (mawlana) Muhammad, the possessor of the great rank, and to bless the family of the prophet of the great God, in accordance with the greatness of the essence of the great God, in every glance and every breath, according to the number of what is comprehended in the knowledge of the great God; a continuous blessing, as continuous as the continued existence of God; in exaltation of thy right, O our Master, O Muhammad, O thou possessor of the great character; and save

¹³ Hasting's *Ency. Relig. & Ethics*, XI, p. 195.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁵ *Idem.*, p. 52.

him and save his family after the same manner; and unite me to him as thou has united the spirit and the soul, openly and secretly, waking and sleeping, and make him, O Lord, a spirit of my own essential self (dhāti), out of all the persons in the world, before the life of the Hereafter, O thou great God." To be repeated from 100 times to 200 to 1,000 times to 2,000 times.¹⁶

It may be allowed that the founder of the Sanusis turned devotion to the prophet, which is a common ideal of the religious life of Islam, to practical advantage in uplifting the moral standards of the Beduin people among whom he promulgated his form of the doctrines of Islam. He chose the form of the religious fraternity of the Sūfī (mystical) type as the most effective means of causing what he considered to be the true form of Islam to take hold of the people because of the popularity of such orders in North Africa. But it was his aim to unite the various orders and it was evidently his intention that his order should be the common meeting ground upon which all could unite. In one of his works he enumerates sixty-four fraternities, which are, apparently, those to which the members of his order might belong while still retaining their membership in the Sanusi order. And he describes the practices of forty of these orders, seeming to indicate by this that the practices of his order constitute a common mean combining the good points of all the orders.

In general form of organization, the Sanusi order resembles the other Sufi orders. There is the shaikh or instructor (generally called muqaddim by the Sanusis), to whom the initiate renders absolute obedience. The Sanusi teaching insists upon the necessity of each member who wishes to make advancement along the mystic path putting himself under the direction of a shaikh. The Sanusis have their "zikr" (dhikr) and other forms of devotion, in general similar to those of other orders, but with some features peculiar to themselves, as has every other order. The tendency of Sanusi practice has been to simplify and purify in the direction of early Sufism in Islam, which was more contemplative and devotional than are the noisy and clamorous orders of later generations. Thus, they forbid the use of drums and musical instruments, as also of dancing and chanting, in the performance of their zikrs. They also forbid the use of some devices resorted to by many of the orders in their zikrs to produce a state of ecstasy, such as violent bodily motions. At the same time, while trying to curb some excesses and irregularities of the existing orders, the founder was constrained to make certain concessions to certain practices followed by some other fraternities, to make it possible for members of his order to belong at the same time to other orders. Such practices

¹⁶ Idem., p. 60.

were the dances of the Mawlawiyyah, the cries of the Rifā'iyyah, and the swaying of the Qādiriyyah.¹⁷

VII. TENETS

The purpose of the founder of the order to unite all the Islamic orders and thus in the end unite all Muslims by eliminating the main cause of dissension and division has already been noted. It was his idea that by setting forward the simplest doctrines of Islam he could provide a doctrinal basis to which all Muslims could subscribe and upon which they could unite. He purposed therefore to return to primitive Islam, to the simple doctrines and precepts of the prophet, of the early years of the faith before the ages of development had led Islam astray, as he felt, from this early simplicity and piety. Accordingly he advocated the return to two sources and two only, from which the true Islam is derived, namely, the Koran and the Sunnah. By this last is meant the "Usage" or "Custom" of the prophet, that is, his general practice as indicated by what he said or did or approved, either explicitly or implicitly. The Sunnah is embodied in the books or collections of Traditions (hadīth), of which orthodox Islam has acknowledged six, the well-known "Six Correct Books" (al-Sihāh al-sittah). It should be remarked that while orthodox Islam has accepted as sources of its body of doctrine and canon law the two sources advocated by al-Sanusi, it has found it necessary to add two others, namely, the "Agreement" or "Consensus of Opinion" (al-Ijmā') of the Muslim Community as a whole, and also the use of Analogy (al-Qiyās). Sanusi belief admits the "Agreement" (Ijmā') of the "Companions of the prophet" (al-Sahāba), that is, they allow the consensus of opinion of the first generation of believers of the time of the prophet to operate in modifying belief or practice, since this is embodied in the Traditions, but they do not allow that of later generations to have a similar influence. As for "Analogy" (Qiyās), they hold in regard to it the ordinary view of the Malikite Rite, which is moderate approval. But the predominating emphasis which al-Sayyid al-Sanusi put upon the two sources, the Koran and the Sunnah, meant, practically, the rejection of the last two sources and basing all doctrine and ritual and law upon the first two sources only, since they alone, in his view, represent primitive Islam. This means that, in his general outlook upon the religion of Islam, al-Sayyid al-Sanusi was more strictly orthodox than the general orthodox view.

In connection with the primary requirement of the true Islam, as advocated by al-Sanusi, there appears one of the characteristic principles or doctrines put forward by him. That principle is the right of every believer to return to the original sources, the Koran and the

¹⁷ Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

Sunnah, and deduce therefrom, by his own study and investigation, the rules and doctrines which, in his judgment, make up the religion of Islam. The technical Arabic word for such exercise of private judgment is *ijtihād*, which means literally "exerting one's self." Thus al-Sanusi claims: "It is the duty of every Muslim to use *ijtihād* in interpreting the Koran and in tracing a chain of Traditions and knowing their meaning and in deducing decisions from them."¹⁸ In support of the right of *ijtihād* a tradition as from the prophet is quoted which says: " 'If an 'alīm (a learned man) exercises *ijtihād* and reaches a correct conclusion he will receive two rewards; if he does so and is mistaken in his conclusion he will receive only one reward'—that is, his mistake will be forgiven."¹⁹

It must be said at once that this claim is contrary to the commonly accepted position of orthodox Islam today, which is that this right of *ijtihād* has lapsed since the days of the four great Imams, the masters of jurisprudence who founded the four rites or schools of canon-law which today hold the field in orthodox Islam. It has been felt that since their day, the third Muslim century or the middle of the ninth century, A.D., there have been no masters of the science of jurisprudence possessing their immense knowledge of the sources or their peculiar opportunities of developing systems of canon-law. Consequently, the only position which has been open to Muslims since that time has been that of *taqlīd*, that is "acceptance on authority," and imitation without question. According to orthodox practice a Muslim may elect to follow any one of the four Rites, the Hanafite, Shafiite, Malikite or Hanbalite, as he may desire, but having made choice, he is required to adhere strictly to this one Rite. Against this requirement al-Sanusi protested. The result of this requirement, he claimed, is prejudice and intolerance, since every one defends the requirements of his own rite, even though it be shown to be wrong. Instead, al-Sanusi held, the common believer, even though he is compelled to be a *muqallid*, that is, to accept *taqlīd*, by reason of his ignorance and his lack of qualification to exercise *ijtihād*, should not be required to belong to any one rite exclusively, but should be able to apply for a decision on any question of law or casuistry to the proper official of any rite that he may choose.²⁰

As for *ijtihād*, every believer who has the necessary qualifications, namely, knowledge of the sources and of the proper manner of dealing with them, is required to exercise *ijtihād* and is blameworthy if he does not. Even the common believer who does not have sufficient knowledge to use *ijtihād*, should know enough of the Koran and the

¹⁸ Al-Sayyid al-Sanusi, *Iqāz al-Wasnan*, pp. 125-127.

¹⁹ Idem., p. 19.

²⁰ Idem., pp. 106, 107; also pp. 125-127.

Sunnah to be able to judge in a general way, though not in a detailed way, the proofs upon which the rite to which he has chosen to belong bases its requirements. If he is able to do so, he is no longer dependent upon taqlīd but he has become a "follower" (tābī'). This is as near as he can come to ijtihād. If a believer cannot do as much as that, he must be content with taqlīd, though without being restricted to any one rite, as noted above. Ijtihād is in place only where a plain portion or "text" (nass) of Koran or Sunnah is available. All that is required then is to discover, by investigation and study, what the meaning is. When the meaning is discovered then the requirement of the "text"—whether a positive command or a prohibition—will be evident. If there is no "text," then ijtihād is forbidden because then a ra'y, an "opinion," would be required, having no textual foundation but based only upon a "supposition" (zann). It is therefore pre-supposed in the use of ijtihād that there is a "text," either explicit or implied, for every possible case or situation.

It should be further noted in regard to ijtihād that there is a recognized method or technique in dealing with the sources, as, for example, in determining the genuineness of traditions, weighing their relative value, and similar questions which affect the final result. This technique has been worked out to the last detail by the long line of jurists who have perfected the legal, ritual and social requirements of the four orthodox rites. All the possibilities of approach to matters of the Koran and the Sunnah have thus been exhausted, it is generally admitted. The scholar, therefore, can only "follow" the method or technique of one of the four recognized rites in his ijtihād, even though he claims the right of "absolute ijtihād" (ijtihād mutlaq), that is, the right to go back to the original sources with as much freedom as did the founders of the four rites. He is therefore known as a "follower" (tābī') or "one related to" or "belonging to" (muntasib) the rite whose technique he has followed. Thus if a scholar has followed the technique of the founder of the Malikite Rite he is known as a Malikite, even though he finally rejects the ruling of the Malikite Rite on the subject in hand, because his ijtihād has led him to this conclusion. The ijtihād which al-Sanusi claimed is therefore ijtihād mutlaq muntasib, that is, complete freedom in returning to and investigating the original sources and deducing (istinbāt) rules and regulations from them, yet a freedom that is "relative" (muntasib) as concerns the method by which it is exercised. Yet that the right claimed is of considerable importance, in spite of the restriction in regard to method, is evident from the fact that the possibility of differing from the decisions of any or all of the four rites is envisaged, provided only that sufficient support is found in a "text" or passage of the Koran or the Sunnah. In justification of this possibility a tradition

is quoted in which each of the four imams, or founders of the rites, is declared to have said: "If any text is found in the Koran or the Sunnah contrary to my ruling, then follow it, for my madhhab (rite) is the Koran and the Sunnah."

Al-Sanusi himself, and the Sanusi order after him, belong to the Malikite Rite, as do the majority of the Muslims of North Africa. However, charges have been brought against them of having introduced such changes, as, for example, in the ritual of the obligatory daily prayers, that they cannot rightly be called Malikites. Thus, a fatwā or "legal opinion" was delivered against the teaching of al-Sanusi by a Malikite shaikh of the Azhar University in Cairo (al-Shaikh Abū 'Abd-Allah Muhammad 'Alish, died 1299 A.H./1881 A.D.), at the instance, it is said, of the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamīd II of Turkey, who sought to discredit al-Sanusi in this way. The Shaikh sums up his charges by saying that the Sanusi practice of reciting the basmalah in a loud voice, of observing a silence before and after reciting al-Fātihah, all the worshippers reciting al-Fātihah after the imām, the prolonging of the rukū's and the prostration, reciting the qunūt in a loud voice, all of these are contrary to Malikite prescriptions.²¹

At first sight this seems like a formidable list of differences in the ritual within the limits of a single prayer observance. Yet it is to be remarked that all of these charges come under the heading of the "ten items" or "ten points" of the prayer ritual about which the jurists of the four orthodox rites have not yet come to an agreement. Al-Sanusi has himself a book dealing with these "ten points."²²

The last of the articles mentioned in the charges above may be taken as an illustration of the way in which al-Sanusi deals with the "ten points," and, incidentally, of the way in which he uses ijtihād. The last article mentioned above is the first of the "ten points" with which al-Sanusi's book deals, namely, the raising of the hands during the prayers, that is to say, not at the beginning, at the giving of the takbīrat al-ihrām, about which all the rites are in agreement, but during the course of the prayer, specifically when bending down for the rukū' and again when coming up from it. Al-Sanusi remarks, to begin with, that there are two views in regard to this matter, the view which affirms the necessity of raising the hands at this point and the view which denies. The first of these views, he continues, is the view to which Malik (Anas ibn Malik, the founder of the Malikite Rite) subscribed late in life, after having earlier held the opposite view. The revised view he continued to hold until his death and many of his adherents of his day practised it after him. There are traditions related

²¹ Cf. Depont and Coppolani *Les Conféries religieuses Musulmanes*, Algiers, 1897, pp. 546ff.

²² Al-Sayyid al-Sanusi, *Shifā' al-sadr bi-ary'l-masā'il al-'ashir*, Printed at the expense of the author's grandson, al-Sayyid Muhammad Idris al-Mahdi al-Sanusi, 1360/1941, Mahmudiyyah Press, Cairo.

of him, stating that he did not raise his hands and also that he did. The argument of al-Sanusi is that Malik changed his mind about some things, and what he held at the last, even though he practised it only once, is to be regarded as his correct view. The Malīkite Rite may be following his earlier view, it is argued, while the Sanusis follow his later view as the correct one.²³ In any case, the Sanusis do not acknowledge that they differ from Malik because it is related that Malik once said, as is related of the other imams, as noted above, "If my view differs from the Kitāb (the Koran) and the Sunnah, then my madhhab (rite) is the Kitāb and the Sunnah."²⁴

There are some prescriptions which are peculiar to the Sanusis. Thus, the rosary (sibbah) is required to be carried in the hand and not worn around the neck as is done by some of the orders. As already mentioned, the use of drums or any other kind of musical instruments, or dancing or singing (chanting), are not permitted in the Sanusi zikrs (adhkār). The taking of snuff is not permitted, and the smoking of tobacco was also originally prohibited but the prohibition seems to have been later relaxed as smoking among the Sanusis is now not uncommon. The drinking of coffee is prohibited, some authorities say, although others, such as Nallino (quoted Carlo Giglio, op. cit., p. 22) prefer to say that it is not so much prohibited as almost unknown. On the other hand, the drinking of tea is permitted, perhaps for the practical reason mentioned by Hasanein that tea is a real stimulus in desert travel while coffee is not.²⁵ Tea should be sweetened, al-Sanusi said,²⁶ with unrefined sugar because the refining is done with bones of animals killed by non-Muslims. In general, luxury of dress or living is forbidden to the Sanusis.

Aside from the special considerations mentioned in the course of this paper, the Sanusi belief and practice and outlook are that of orthodox Islam. Some changes no doubt have taken place in the course of the history of the movement and others may be in process of taking place today. The Sanusi order of tomorrow may differ in many respects from that of the past, as its leaders try to adapt it to the changed and changing circumstances of today. Yet, allowing for all possible adaptations, the order is not likely to change from its essentially Islamic character, nor to abandon its fundamental tenets, which are those of orthodox Islam.

VIII. RELATION TO THE WAHHABIS

Resemblances between the tenets and practices of the Sanusis and those of the Wahhabis of Sa'udi Arabia have frequently been re-

²³ Cf. *Shifā' al-sadr*, p. I.

²⁴ Idem., pp. 19, 20.

²⁵ Cf. Hasanein, op. cit., p. 24.

²⁶ Cf. Carlo Giglio, op. cit., p. 22.

marked. It is true that even a superficial comparison between the two movements will reveal a number of resemblances, with, at the same time, striking and characteristic differences. It is sometimes affirmed that the resemblances are due to the fact that the Sanusis have been directly influenced by the Wahhabis, since al-Sanusi spent a number of years in Arabia and the teacher from whom he derived his main inspiration, Ahmad ibn Idris, had lived and taught for many years in the Hijaz. Other scholars, on the other hand, as Nallino, deny any direct influence, since there is no proof that Ahmad ibn Idris had been influenced by the Wahhabis.²⁷ While it is true that there is no evidence of direct contact of either Ahmad ibn Idris or al-Sanusi with the Wahhabis, it would seem strange indeed that a man with the scholarly curiosity of al-Sanusi, who, moreover, already entertained the idea of uniting all Muslims on a common doctrinal basis, should live for so many years in the midst of a striking reforming movement such as the Wahhabis without making any attempt to learn the purposes and principles of the movement. This is not to say, of course, that al-Sanusi directly "borrowed" from the Wahhabis; in fact it does not appear that al-Sanusi "took over" his beliefs from any order or any source without passing everything through the crucible of his own thought and giving it the color of his own personality and his purposes. The statement of Carlo Giglio seems sufficiently guarded when he says that there is community of principles between the two movements, while the differences are due to the peculiar environment and circumstances of each.²⁸ To state the matter in somewhat different form, many of the underlying principles which al-Sanusi adopted, such as the return to primitive Islam, are also those of the Wahhabis; and they are principles which are not far from a certain type of Muslim thought, since neither the Wahhabis nor al-Sanusi were the first to advocate them nor have they been the last. But in working out these principles and applying them to his North African environmental al-Sanusi arrived at somewhat different results from those of the Wahhabis, who live, it should be remembered, in the original home of Islam.

In making a comparison between the Wahhabis and the Sanusis, the first point of resemblance to be noted is that they are alike in their belief in the necessity of a return to primitive Islam. This simple religion of Islam is to be found primarily, both believe, in the Koran and the Sunnah. By way of ascertaining what the true doctrines and precepts are, the Wahhabis acknowledge the Six Books of Traditions, especially those of al-Bukhari and Muslim; in this they are paralleled by the Sanusis, except that the Sanusis acknowledge also the collec-

²⁷ Quoted Carlo Giglio, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 15, 16.

tion of Anas ibn Malik called "al-Muwatta'." In interpretation of the Koran, the Wahhabis make use of only two books of tafsir or interpretation;²⁹ but the Sanusis do not follow them in this, as they allow the use of books of tafsir.³⁰

Again, al-Sanusi, while accepting the same general outlook and objective as the Wahhabis, adopted a somewhat different method of accomplishing the same end. He adopted Sufism, which is anathema to the Wahhabis, and organized his order on the general lines of the usual Sufi fraternities in Islam, with their hierarchy of officers, their religious houses and devotional practices, with differences from these orders already mentioned.

Another point of similarity is in the opposition of both to all superstitions and accumulated practices which are contrary to the Koran and the Sunnah; with, however, this striking difference, that, whereas the Wahhabis repudiate with scorn the cult of saint-worship and the building and adorning of tombs in honor of saints, and even forbid the honoring and visiting of the tomb of the prophet, the Sanusis, on the other hand, admit the honoring of saints and visits to their tombs. The tomb of the founder himself at Jaghub is lavishly and ornately adorned and is a center of pilgrimage for reverent ikhwān. The admission of this practice was perhaps a stroke of policy on the part of the founder, for devotion to the saints is particularly strong in North Africa.

In simplification of the ritual and in exclusion of pomp and refinements from the devotional practices the Sanusis also resemble the Wahhabis, except that the Sanusis applied this principle of simplification to the zikrs of the Sufi orders, whereas the Wahhabis do not tolerate the Sufi orders. Furthermore, the asceticism of the Wahhabis is to a certain degree imitated by the Sanusis, in that the use of rich clothing and silks and jewelry are restricted by the Sanusis to the adornment of women. In general, however, there is a much greater degree of laxity among the Sanusis than among the Wahhabis. In regard to bid'ah, which is the technical word for "innovations" whether in belief or practice, the Sanusis allow that there may be a praiseworthy kind of bid'ah as well as a reprehensible kind, whereas the Wahhabis condemn all bid'ah on the ground that everything that has been introduced into Islam since the early days has been harmful.

As a final point of resemblance, it may be noted that the return to the early form of Islam, advocated by both groups, involves a desire to restore the pure Islamic state as it existed in the days of the prophet and the first four caliphs. But in the method of the accomplishment of this design there is a difference, for, whereas the Wah-

²⁹ Cf. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, 1922, Vol. I, pp. 301, 302.

³⁰ Based on an oral statement made recently by al-Sayyid Idris, the present head of the order.

habis have established their state by force of arms, the Sanusis have consistently refused to take up arms to win over adherents or set up a state, and only finally took up arms under the pressure of circumstances. At the same time, the purpose of building up zawiyahs and especially the strong centers within the inaccessible fastnesses of the desert and the winning over of the tribes was to provide a region, purely and inviolably Muslim, to which Muslims could emigrate from countries under non-Muslim rule. For the corollary, under the present order of things, to refusing to live under an infidel government is to emigrate to a land that is, in the truest sense of the term, Dār al-Islām, the "Abode of Islam." Therefore the Sanusis advocated emigration. If it be maintained that the entry upon the field of martial conflict sooner or later is implicit in the presuppositions of the order regarding the Islamic state, this may be allowed as true. And it may be that their leaders were only patiently biding their time and making preparation against the day of inevitable conflict. If this be true, one can only deprecate the ill choice of time and occasion on which to act made by the Sanusi leader when finally he did appeal to arms; and reflect how heavily the chances of history seem to be arrayed against the accomplishment of their full designs, if such be their designs.

Hartford Seminary Foundation

C. C. ADAMS

A Message from the Editor of "Gaskiya," Zaria

We have received from the Moslem editor of *Gaskiya*, printed in Hausa and English at Zaria, Nigeria, a copy of his weekly. It has a message from the Sultan of Sokoto, with his portrait and other illustrations. The Editorial states:

"In the past it has been said that the paper is only suitable for Moslems. This is because most of us are Moslems who write the articles, and most of the readers are Moslems. But we hope from now onwards that non-Moslems will read it as much as Moslems, and we will welcome and publish letters, if they are suitable for publication, from you whoever and wherever you are. We shall also have Christians on the editorial staff. We are not going to write on purely religious matters, either Christian or Moslem, far less shall we print articles written to promote one religion or the other. This is the business of the preachers and leaders of religion. But we do not mean that a Moslem or Christian writer must refrain from any allusion to his faith. 'Ye shall serve your God in your way, and I in mine.' Each will continue to serve God in his own way and to think and write on the religious background to which he is accustomed, but without giving offence.

Times have changed, and our lives have become intermingled. Therefore it has become essential that Christians should learn to respect Islam, and Moslems to respect Christianity. We must understand each other, and work together with all our strength towards a way of life which will be for the good of all. This world is but a preparation for the next. May God look upon us in His mercy, preserve us from going astray and set our feet upon the path of peace."

MOHAMMEDAN ART IN SPAIN DURING THE OMMIAD PERIOD (756-1031)

Surface ornament as used by the Mohammedans in Spain during the Ommiad Period, from 756 to 1031, is best understood when, first, Mohammedanism is considered from an historical point of view. Then, with some knowledge of the violent religious and political upheaval which marked the first half of the seventh century, when the forces of Islam overran many provinces of the Roman Empire and destroyed the power of Persia, one may gain a little understanding of Moslem architecture, scattered as it is over Asia, North Africa and Europe. Diverse as are the many examples of Islamic architecture, due to external conditions, nevertheless "this architecture wherever it is found from Spain to India, and whatever may be the races who have practised it, has a distinctive character of its own, a character, however, more easily recognized than defined. This general quality is due not merely to the adoption by many races, of a common religion and common social system, but also to the opportunities which arose for an interchange and a spreading of ideas, of technical methods, and even of craftsmen, among the many territories that formed the world of Islam."¹ And in this Moslem world there is revealed the Mohammedans' primary interest, not in the problem of structure, but in the elaborate system of surface decoration.

Surface decoration was little known to the young boy, Mohammed, who was born in 570 in the Arabian city of Mecca, a great focus of routes for the caravan trade of the desert. Although the Arabs were not an artistic people, yet the rise of Mohammed, from shepherd to camel-driver, then from wealthy merchant to holy prophet and founder of a new religious movement, was to have a decided influence upon the decorative history of the world.

As a child the orphaned Mohammed tended his uncle's sheep by day; and by night, in the caravansary, he listened to camel-drivers who, squatted around a fire in the flickering shadows, told tales of the Persians, the Christians and the Jews. Over these people's religious teachings Mohammed pondered when as a young camel-driver he travelled over the vast, mysterious and silent deserts of Arabia. Also, he pondered over the worship of idols in Mecca, and gradually his mind became imbued with the thought "There is no god but God, Allah." A noble thought for an idol worshipper! A thought which had far-reaching power. Indeed, this thought became a motif in Mohammedan surface ornament. Swiftly followed a second motif, "Mohammed is the apostle of God."

¹ E. K. Richmond, *Moslem Architecture, 623 to 1516*, p. 7.

After Mohammed was convinced of his high calling he became teacher and missionary to family, neighbors, friends and strangers. He urged no difficult doctrines. He gave an ignorant people commands which were definite and clear-cut. For example, he forbade the making of an image or likeness of any living thing; and it was this command which was responsible for a wonderful development of geometric decoration by the Arabs. And always a Moslem building was beautified, more or less, with geometric decoration, be it the Taj Mahal in the far East, or the Mosque of Cordova in the extreme West. Cordova was the Moorish capital of Spain, and it was in Spain that Mohammedan surface decoration came to its fullest development.

This development of Mohammedan art in Spain is due to the fact that Mohammed, after founding in 622 the new religious movement, became a legislator, a warrior, a dictator and a conqueror. Mohammed did much for his people, and before he died he had united the wandering desert tribes and had become not only the undisputed religious head of a people, but the actual ruler of the Arabians. Then, with his fatalistic belief in the will of Allah, he so inspired these half-savage Arabs that they became invincible soldiers who, burning with fanatic zeal, needed little urging to spread by the sword the tenets of the new religion. After the Prophet's death in 632 his successor, Abu Bakr, spent his first year in consolidating Islam as a religion and as a military power.

"As a military organization, capable of profitable employment, Islamism attracted hordes of hungry followers; as a religion it gave them discipline. For this formidable weapon there was, after the unification of the peninsula, no employment except outside Arabia. Two roads led to the outer world. One ran to the Syrian borders of the Byzantine Empire, and the other to the Euphrates and the borders of Persia. Before the end of 633, Abu Bakr despatched Moslem forces on both these roads to raid and to plunder. These movements, though probably initiated as raids, ended as conquests."² After conquering Syria and making Damascus capital of Islam, the Mohammedan hordes invaded and despoiled Persia. But Persia lived triumphantly in Mohammedan art, for the Persians remained to the Arabs in much the same relation as did the Greeks to the Romans.

It was in the year 711, about eighty years after Mohammed's death, that these followers of his entered Spain. And it was in the year 756 that there began a period of culture which was like "a lamp in which the flame of learning was kept burning till Western nations, wondering at such magnificent light, bore it away to illumine their own path."³ This period of culture, from 756 to 1031, is called the Om-

² E. K. Richmond, *Moslem Architecture*, p. 5.

³ A. Fitzgerald, *In the Track of the Moors*.

miad Period. It was ushered in by Abd-ar-Rahman, who, with his young son, had escaped slaughter in Syria when the Ommiads of Damascus, at one time rulers of the Moslem world, were overthrown by the hostile Abbasids. Escaping to Spain, Abd-ar-Rahman founded the branch of the family which ruled for nearly three centuries in Mohammedan Spain. But it was Abd-ar-Rahman III (912-961) who was the greatest and the most successful of these princes, and his court radiated the culture and intellect which had been assembled from many conquered peoples. For it can be said of the Moslems that "the nations conquered by their arms were made to yield up intellectual as well as material spoils."⁴ And so, when Europe was sunk in the depths of barbarism, these Ommiads maintained at Cordova in Spain a magnificent Arabic-Moslem kingdom.

Cordova attracted both scholars and students from all the world. But, too, Cordova swarmed with merchants: and in the narrow streets weavers made shawls and carpets; glass blowers crouched by their kilns; and leather-makers plied their trade. In these streets were seen domes and graceful minarets, public squares and public baths; and in the pleasant courtyards were flowers and fountains. Strangers gazed open-mouthed at the beauties of this capital of the Ommiads. Most beautiful of all was the royal Mosque of Cordova. Much of its beauty was due to surface decoration which is lavish, intricate, colorful. Nowhere is there an image or likeness of any living thing; two motifs only which have travelled to the east and to the west from far-off desert Arabia:

"There is no god but Allah."

"Mohammed is the apostle of God."

The Mosque of Cordova is one of the greatest in the world and is the grandest and noblest creation of Moorish architecture in Spain. To gain some idea of its meaning and construction one must think back to the early days of Islam when the Prophet from necessity left Mecca to go to Medina. In the same year (622) was built the Prophet's mosque or "masjid," which means a place of prostration. This first mosque was "a place where the faithful could assemble, prostrate themselves in prayer, and listen to their leader's discourse."⁵ Shelter and seclusion were needed for worship in this hot and crowded city of Medina. So the mosque was built⁶ with foundations of stone and with an enclosing wall of stone and bricks. The enclosed area, and possibly only that part near the mihrāb, the niche in the wall which indicated the direction (*qiblah*) for prayer, was roofed with palm branches

⁴ Jacob DeHaas, *History of Palestine*, p. 148, from Bury, p. 100.

⁵ E. T. Richmond, *Moslem Architecture*, p. 3.

⁶ "It is the only example of Arab art uninfluenced by foreign forces." A. Fitzgerald, *In the Track of the Moors*.

strewn over beams of palm-tree trunks. And the beams were supported also by palm-tree trunks. So, literally, this first mosque was a small forest of trees. But in 653 these natural tree trunks were replaced by piers of dressed stone. This first mosque had no minaret or tower from which the muezzin calls the faithful to prayer. The call to prayer was made from the roof of the mosque. A minaret was first built in 656 in Fustât, Egypt. Introduced into North Africa and into Spain by the Ommiads, "the square Syrian form became the established form of minaret in those countries, and was never displaced by the slighter and more fantastic forms of brick ancestry and largely Persian origin which were developed later, particularly in Egypt."⁷ The square plan marks its affinity to the stone architecture of Syria rather than to the mud-brick architecture of Mesopotamia. And the Mosque of Cordova, Arab-Byzantine in spirit, had a square minaret.

As is the case in most Arab architecture, this greatest religious achievement of the Moors has an unimpressive exterior, its beauty being reserved for the interior. With its fairly strict adherence to Byzantine models, this well known mosque represents the first of the three periods in Moorish art. "It sprang from a Christianized growth of Roman debris."⁸ This was natural, because the Islamic conquerors, when first they began to build in Spain, utilized columns, capitals and window-frames taken from the churches and palaces of the Visigoths who ruled in Spain until the entrance of the victorious Moors in 711. Besides, this mosque was built on the site of a Christian church which once had been a Roman temple. It was Abd-ar-Rahmân I (756-788) who laid the foundation of the mosque in 786. It was finished by his son Hishâm I (788-796) who also built the square minaret. And, until about the year 1000, enlargements, decorations, repairs and alterations were carried out by successive Ommiad rulers. A model for this edifice was found in the arcaded courts and colonnaded halls of the earlier mosques in Egypt.

The ground plan forms an immense rectangle of about 575 by 427 feet, of which fully a third is occupied by a court. Court and mosque are surrounded by a fortress-like battlemented wall. Passing through the main gateway one enters the court where the faithful performed their ablutions. This court is light and spacious, yet well-shaded by orange and palm-trees and watered by several fountains. Enclosed on three sides by a very light portico the court is shut in on the fourth side by the façade of this wonderful Mohammedan building which is a "mosiac of beautiful arts";⁹ for here can be traced borrowed Persian splendor and Byzantine form blended to the Moorish conception of art.

⁷ E. T. Richmond, *Moslem Architecture*, p. 66.

⁸ A. Fitzgerald, *In the Track of the Moors*.

⁹ A. Fitzgerald, *In the Track of the Moors*.

Because the buildings of the Islamic world stand for the fulfilment of purposes, the Prophet's small mosque at Medina and the immense Mosque of Cordova are much alike. The needs of a mosque are the same at all times and in all places. But there was an unusual similarity between the two mosques just mentioned, for the interior of the Mosque of Cordova, like that of the Prophet's mosque, was so built that the roof supports resembled a forest of trees. "Imagine a forest and imagine that you are in the depths of this forest, and that you see nothing but the trunks of the trees. Thus no matter on what side of the mosque you look the eye sees nothing but columns. It is a limitless forest of marble."¹⁰ Nine hundred¹¹ marble columns from Carthage, from Rome, from Byzantium and from local pre-Islamic buildings were used to support the roof of this first Ommiad mosque in Spain. In the subdued light the forest of columns seems endless.

Now these columns, whose capitals show a marvelous wealth of design and whose bases are buried in the pavement, average only thirteen feet in height. Therefore, to use the ancient columns it was necessary to use a device to gain height without risking stability. So horseshoe arches were used to connect the columns, and above these were placed a second row of arches which were semicircular. The solution of the problem was ingenious and daring, and successful, as one can see. "Each column carries not only the springing of the horseshoe arches, but also a pier which projects laterally on corbels placed above the capitals."¹² And it is these piers which carry the second row of arches. Besides the semicircular and horseshoe arches were used the multifoil form of arch which undoubtedly came from India. Again the Spanish Moslems displayed ingenuity and skill in the structural use and elaboration of this form of arch which is one of the most notable and curious features in the Mosque of Cordova.

These unusual arches of alternate brick-red and white voussoirs, resting on the hundreds of columns of porphyry, jasper, and marbles of every color, impart peculiar life to the building. The columns are arranged in rows forming nineteen long naves intersected by thirty-three shorter ones. And the central nave, much larger than the others, leads to the most sacred spot in the mosque—the mihrāb with the maksūra or enclosed space, in front of it. There were three mihrābs in the Mosque of Cordova, but now only one is preserved. It is a marvel of art, exhibiting the most elaborate efforts of early-Moorish artistry, especially in the colored glass mosaics executed by the Byzantine artists. And now should be noticed the painted ceiling of cedar and larch, sculptured and incrustated with the most delicate

¹⁰ Esther Singleton, *Turrets, Towers, and Temples*, p. 287.

¹¹ At one time there were 1,400 columns.

¹² E. T. Richmond, *Moslem Architecture*, p. 68.

work; but special attention should be centered on the small dome before the beautiful mihrāb. Although this elaborate piece of building is of stone, there is exhibited the earliest example of the structural use of intersecting multifoil arches, resulting in a sort of beautiful tracery.

Indeed, the Great Mosque of Cordova is decorated with a lavishness unknown in other examples of the Moorish style and is noteworthy for the complicated interlacing arches, the doubling of the arcades, the intricate plaster ornament and the frequent use of cusped arches. Also, in this Arab-Byzantine creation "the Arabs typified the more intellectual side of their religious and artistic development, almost displaying imagination, and not merely fantasy, in their striving after the infinite as far as column after column reaching to invisible distance could express it."¹³ No wonder that this mosque, built during the Ommiad Period in Spain was the marvel of the Middle Ages. It was in truth a "mosaic of beautiful arts."

Surface ornamentation became the special domain of Moslem art. Because the Mohammedans lived in a world enclosed by desert and steppe the art of these nomads proceeded from the tent and the loom. The appearance of Mohammed in Arabia had no effect whatever on the art of the Arabs; but his injunction, that no image or likeness of any living thing be represented, did have far-reaching influence. And other influences soon appeared.

It is known that "the rapidity with which Mohammedanism spread abroad left it no time to develop a peculiar art of its own, and the conquerors found it easier and more convenient to make use of artists and materials, and whatever else already existed in the conquered countries, for the construction and decoration of their own beautiful buildings."¹⁴ But it appears that in 653 surface decoration was used for the first time. At this date the primitive mosque of the Prophet at Medina, built in 622, was enlarged and embellished. The walls were rebuilt in dressed stone, and carving and inlay with rare and precious stones were introduced. Whence came this style of decoration? From the East, no doubt, for Eastern influence crops up at every step, both in buildings and, still more, in portable works of art. Everywhere in Mohammedan art is seen Persian influence; and even some of Indian. It was in India that inlay of marble with precious stones reached its climax. For the Taj Mahal, in Agra, built about 1630 by the Mohammedan, Shah Jahan, is exquisitely beautiful with its white marble so inlaid with precious stones that the walls of the tomb and the cenotaph within seem to be covered with flowers from the surrounding gardens.

¹³ A. Fitzgerald, *In the Tracks of the Moors*.

¹⁴ Speitz, *Styles of Ornament*, p. 198.

But surface ornamentation in the West is different. Of course in all Moslem surface pattern there is line, pattern and color. Always there are geometrical and conventional floral patterns. Always, too, are inscriptions from the Koran, the bible of the Mohammedans. But surface decoration in the West, especially in the Mosque of Cordova, has a certain virile quality, even though textile in spirit. There is also an intellectual note present in the earlier works which later, in the Alhambra, for instance, disappears. What influence, then, makes the western different from the eastern surface pattern? Evidently the Byzantine artists introduced form which is a legacy from the Greeks. Also introduced were the interlacing of patterns, vivid color, and gilding.

Forbidden living forms, the Mohammedans, and especially the Moors in Spain, "took simple triangles and pentagons and hexagons and heptagons and octagons, and arranged them in groups of three or four or five, with their lines extended. They took "S" curves and interlaced them to form beautiful patterns. They combined these shapes with one another and with circles and ovals; and they combined them so intricately that the human eye can hardly follow them. They took, in fact, inanimate geometrical forms and from them produced designs which resemble the most delicate lace-work, finer than frost designs on window panes, delicate and gracious as the form articulation in foam."¹⁵

It was Abd-ar-Rahmān I, or his grandson, who introduced into Spain the weaving of names and kingly inscriptions into the texture of royal robes. And in time the weaving of verses or lines from the Koran and elsewhere, into the wall design, became a custom; for the written characters were beautiful in themselves and capable of exquisite treatment. Then another influence, neither Persian nor Byzantine, began to creep into the surface patterns which were spreading over many walls and ceilings of Moorish Spain during the Omiad Period. The spirit of the nomad was revealing itself; for the spreading arches and the doming of the palm were suggested, as was the shell, suggestive of water in a burning desert. The shell may be traced in many a dainty arabesque. And all the many forms were used to fill the geometric spaces of the decoration. No space, however awkward in shape, was too difficult to fill successfully. Monotonous as some of the Moorish interiors may appear, yet it is through this very monotony that a delightful sense of calm is conveyed.

And yet this calm has an element of excitement in it, caused by color. For color is everywhere—brought to Spain from the East and Africa. The Ommiads brought color in the marvellous Byzantine

¹⁵ Warren and Cheney, *The Romance of Design*, p. 41.

mosaics. The Arabs brought it with them in an almost childish delight for bright beauty. And the Moors were "color-thirsty."¹⁶ So in the Mosque of Cordova there are colors of wondrous hues. But in the time of the Ommiads it was dazzling in its beauty. "Such a miracle of art could only emanate from the fiery and indefatigable imagination of the Arabs."¹⁷ There can be no doubt that this exciting display of color is oriental in character. For out of the East come emotion and color.

Mohammedan art is and always will remain elusive in style, origin, and even in name. For what is it? Arabian, Moorish or Moresque? Persian or Indian, Coptic or Sicilian, or Saracenic? Whatever its name, Mohammedan art has individuality. As for Mohammedan art in Spain during the Ommiad Period, it is at its best in the Mosque of Cordova. And the Mosque of Cordova was a revelation to the world during the Middle Ages. Even now it shows to the world a mysterious art personality—a successful blending of the East and the West.

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¹⁶ A. Fitzgerald, *In the Tracks of the Moors*.

¹⁷ Esther Singleton, *Turrets, Towers and Temples*, p. 290.

The Mosque of Omar, Jerusalem

Begun by the Caliph Omar in 635 A.D., on the site of Herod's temple, Qubbet-es-Sakhra (Dome of the Rock), which is the proper name of this edifice, was rebuilt in 1022 by Ali Daher el Izaz, and since restored by many Muslim rulers, including the famous Saladin.

The building, raised on an irregular platform 12 feet high, is reached by eight flights of steps ending in graceful porticos. The Mosque itself is octagonal in shape, some 180 feet in diameter. The dome is 78 feet across, reaches to 108 feet above the ground, and is surmounted by a crescent 12 feet high. The base of the Mosque is cased in marble to a height of 18 feet.

Four doors flanked by five columns give entry, and the building is lighted by delicately pierced windows. Around the drum of the cupola is a row of semicircular windows interspersed with enamelled earthenware arabesques, showing verses of the Koran in white on a blue ground. The actual dome is covered with lead.

The building has grace, even majesty, but is sometimes criticised as having the pedestal too low for harmony with the soaring cupola.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN MOSLEM LANDS*

Nourished in the traditions of the Crusades, the epics of rising Balkan nationalities and of the massacred Armenians, Western and Christian opinion has tended to judge harshly the intolerance of Mohammedans and of the Turkish Empire which was the chief Moslem state of modern history. In recent decades scholarship has tried to redress the balance, aided by penitence and self-criticism in Western and Christian attitudes. Contemporary studies useful for our present inquiries not merely reflect this change in approach but also rely almost entirely upon Mohammedan sources. Probably an ultimate balance will be struck with more thorough study of the recorded experience of non-Moslems under Islamic rule.

The stern elements of Mohammedan faith and practice are widely, if inaccurately, known. How have Moslems dealt with heresy and schism among themselves? Do they know religious liberty within the Moslem system? There is an important teaching of tolerance, represented classically in Mohammed's traditional but unauthenticated saying: "Difference of opinion in my community is a (manifestation of divine) mercy." Also there is reported to have been prophetic expectation of diversity: "My community will become divided into seventy-three sects." Moreover, in Sura v. 120 of the Koran there is a strong hint that the destruction of false belief is not the business of men: "These, too, were precepts desired by God, and those who believed wrongly would one day render an account to God of their error." The attributed prediction of variety corresponds well with the facts. The four schools of Sunni or orthodox tradition have sharply divided the fields of theology and law and have in turn experienced manifold and serious subdivision, all the while admitting each other's orthodoxy. The powerful Shiah, on the other hand, represent a divergence that has brought much physical quarreling in areas like Mesopotamia where local combats might develop on more or less equal terms between them and the Sunnis. It is noteworthy that the positive commands and the prohibitions of the religious law do not necessarily connote state sanctions.¹

Leaving aside the serious political or semipolitical controversies between Arabs and non-Arabs, which were often partly religious in character, religious persecution as such first appears clearly in the Moslem camp a century after Mohammed. Hisham (724-43) muti-

* A reprint of pp. 257-267 from *Religious Liberty* by M. Searle Bates, by permission of the International Missionary Council and Harpers Brothers. This book is reviewed in our present issue.—*Editor*.

¹ T. W. Arnold, "Toleration. Muhammadan," *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 365-6. S. G. Vesey-FitzGerald, *Muhammadan Law*, pp. 17, 2.

lated a member of the Mu'tazilite school for maintaining freedom of the will and executed another for arguing that the Koran was created. Harun, at the turn of the century, imprisoned certain of the scholastic theologians. Ma'mun in 833, two hundred years after Mohammed, set up the first systematic inquisition, with tests and torture. As Abbasid Caliph at Baghdad, Ma'mun said that God expects a trusted ruler to instruct his subjects in the way of salvation, to define the faith, and to bring back to truth those who have wandered from it. But in 848 Mutawakkil reversed the theological position, under penalty of death for those who did not agree with that newly exalted. (Christians might think of Arian-Athanasian alternation.) In 1029 all teachers were required to sign a confession which condemned the Mu'tazilite doctrines.

The great lawyer Abu Hanifah, head of one of the four orthodox schools, laid down the death penalty for apostasy. Later theologians broadened the view to include a demand for the blood of any Moslem who denied the prophetic mission, or who doubted one letter of the Koran, or who held that God did not speak with Moses. Mutawakkil was especially severe against the Shiah. Not only did he persecute them as individuals; he destroyed the graves of their hero-saints 'Ali and Husain (who take the foreground from Mohammed himself, in the outlook of many Shiah) and forbade pilgrimage to the sacred sites. There were many later persecutions of the Shiah, such as that of Sultan Selim I who searched for them throughout the Turkish domain and killed or imprisoned 40,000. In 892 all philosophical books were banned from sale, and in 1018 there was a general edict against all freethinkers and heretics. There was difficulty as far from Baghdad as Spain, where the Almohades persecuted philosophers and banished Averroes from Cordova. Several Sufi mystics suffered torture, mutilation, and death for their heresy, including prominent scholars. Again and again in Moslem history men were slain for claiming that they were new incarnations, such as the Mahdi familiar in recent Egyptian history.²

The rigor applied to apostates was and is a drastic limitation upon the freedom of conscience of Mohammedans. The lawyers agree in appealing to the tradition: "If a man changes his religion, kill him." Escape to a foreign country was legal death to an apostate, for his property was divided, his slaves and his wife were set free. A standard summary of the whole matter is stated by the Mohammedan law book thus: "As for Apostates, it is permitted to kill them by facing them or coming upon them from behind, just as in the case of Polytheists. Secondly, their blood, if shed, brings no vengeance. Thirdly, their

² T. W. Arnold, "Persecution. Muhammadan," *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, IX, 765-6.

property is the spoil of true believers. Fourthly, their marriage ties become null and void."³

It is well known that the Moslems were harsh in war and in subjugating the conquered but that they made special categories, at least in principle, for "peoples of the book," those who have inherited recognized scriptures. Jews, Christians, and in some measure the Zoroastrians and Sabeans, were so treated. Several passages of the Koran bear upon this matter:

God is your Lord and our Lord; we have our works and you have your works; between us and you let there be no strife; God will make us all one and to Him shall we return.

Dispute ye not, save in kindest sort, with people of the Book, save with such of them as have dealt wrongly (with you), and say ye, "We believe in what has been sent down to us and hath been sent down to you. Our God and your God is one, and to him we are self-surrendered."

But if they debate with thee, then say: God best knoweth what ye do.

Let there be no compulsion in religion.

But if thy Lord had pleased, verily all who are in the world would have believed together. Wilt thou compel men to become believers? No soul can believe but by the permission of God.⁴

Moreover, Mohammed is said to have issued an edict "to all men" indicating his solicitude for the safety of Christians and his concern that it be maintained: whoever should violate the pledges given to them, or should act contrary to what was ordered, would thereby have broken the pact of God, would have mocked at his religion and have deserved his curse, let it be an emperor, a king, or any other Moslem whosoever. Mohammed himself, several of the early caliphs, and the two sons of Ali all married Christian women. Other personal connections frequently mitigated the harsh principles which were to follow.⁵

Christians were by far the most numerous of the "peoples of the book" and of all peoples conquered in the classic period of expansion, though Islam after the eleventh century began to rule in India, gradually to spread in that land and on to the East Indies and the Philippine Islands. The formation of policy will, therefore, be considered with primary reference to Christians, mentioning Jews and Zoroastrians or others when their cases were distinctive. The political type and the intolerant character of Byzantine Christianity need only be recalled. For instance, when Justinian's Code (a scant century before Mohammed) decreed that pagans must be baptized in order to claim the common rights of citizens, 70,000 persons thereupon were added as "converts" to the Christian Church in Asia Minor alone.⁶

³ A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects*, pp. 181-2. For elaborate historical and recent evidence, Samuel M. Zwemer, *The Law of Apostasy in Islam*, pp. 33 ff.

⁴ *Koran*, 42, 39, 22, 2, 10. Quoted in Arnold, "Toleration . . .," pp. 365-6.

⁵ Choucri Cardahi, "La conception et la pratique du droit international privé dans l'Islam," *Académie de Droit International, Recueil des Cours*, LX (1937, ii), pp. 555-6, 553.

⁶ Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

During the first century of Islam (the Hegira was in 622) the treatment of Christians by Moslems was relatively mild. Some heed was given to the saying: "A forced convert is not a true Moslem." It is reported that both Mohammed and Omar put Moslems to death for killing Christians. According to tradition Mohammed declared: "Who so kills a *dhimmi* (a non-Moslem resident, one of the "peoples of the book") will not smell the scent of paradise, and its scent spreads a journey of forty years"; but Ali said: "A Moslem must not be killed for the murder of an unbeliever." The balance of varying opinions among the lawyers was against the execution of a Moslem for the murder of a *dhimmi*, and the blood money for a *dhimmi* was half that for a Moslem.⁷

Late tradition continually refers to, and often professes to cite, the so-called Covenant of Omar or grant of protection to Christians in return for their submission and acceptance of Moslem terms. It seems well established that there never was a general formulation of that sort, and there is doubt as to the actual terms of particular capitulations. Yet, the tradition is of considerable importance as indicating what Moslem writers believed, or wished to have others believe, was the standard of tolerance set up so early; and in that sense the tradition had a certain validity apart from its inaccuracy as sheer record. One of the most influential forms of the story is that of the historian Tabari, who professes to present Omar's side of the agreement for the submission of Jerusalem in 638:

Omar, the servant of God . . . grants to all, whether sick or sound, security for their lives, their possessions, their churches and their crosses, and for all that concerns their religion. Their churches shall not be changed into dwelling-places, nor destroyed, neither shall they nor their appurtenances be in any way diminished, nor the crosses of the inhabitants nor aught of their possessions, nor shall any constraint be put upon them in the matter of their faith, nor shall any one of them be harmed.⁸

There are a number of indications that alike in Syria and in Egypt the Monophysite Christians welcomed the Moslem invasion and found in the new overlordship relief from Orthodox persecutions. So much hints at the reality behind the dubious covenant. But before comparing details of practice with theory, the other side of the shield must be presented, albeit from Moslem sources. What were the restrictions put upon Christians and justified as part of the bargain made in the "Covenant of Omar"? The most careful among varying statements, and that representing a later time and not held by the author to be universally binding, was given by Al-Mawardi in the first half of the eleventh century. He says that in the poll tax contract there

⁷ Tritton, *op. cit.*, pp. 185, 178-80.

⁸ Arnold, "Toleration . . .," p. 367; "Persecution . . .," p. 767. T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam* (2nd ed.), p. 61. See also Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

are two clauses, the first of which is "indispensable" and required the *dhimmi* not to: (1) attack or pervert the sacred Book; (2) accuse the Prophet of falsehood or refer to him with contempt; (3) blame or controvert the religion of Islam; (4) approach a Moslem woman with a view either to illicit relations or to marriage; (5) turn a Moslem from the faith or harm him in person or possessions; (6) help enemies or receive their spies. The second clause is merely "commendable," covering these points: (1) the wearing of a distinctive mark and a special girdle; (2) prohibition of buildings higher than those of Moslems; (3) prohibition of offending the ears of Moslems by the sound of Christian bells, by reading scriptures of other faiths, and by claims concerning Ezra and the Messiah; (4) prohibition of drinking wine in public and of displaying crosses and swine; (5) obligation to bury the dead quietly, without display of tears and wailing; (6) prohibition of riding on horses, though mules and asses might be used.⁹

The fairly comfortable situation of Christians in the first century of the Hegira gradually gave way to disabilities, increased through a good deal of hatred and oppression under the Abbasids. The prominence of Christians among officials and courtiers of Moslem rulers is an indication of tolerance, but not one to be generalized.¹⁰ Omar II and Mutawakkil attempted to wipe out the simplest evidences of Christianity. Christians were ordered to put wooden figures of devils on their houses; their graves were to be leveled with the ground; their children were not to be taught in Moslem schools nor by a Moslem teacher.¹¹

There was some destruction of Christian churches, especially of those which were built after the conquest (and were denounced upon occasion as violating the supposed terms of a supposed covenant). It began under Walid soon after 700, was common under Harun around 800, and was worst in Egypt, where it occurred at intervals from the second century of the Hegira to the Mamelukes. There was not a little forcible conversion, all along the centuries, from the case of 5,000 Christian Arabs near Aleppo in the time of Mahdi (775-85) to that of 15,000 Christian boys in Crete (1670), who were said to have been circumcised in one day with death as the result for most of them. Martyrs were frequently reported from such experiences. Beginning with the ninth century, jealousy of Christians in administrative posts was a serious matter, leading to frequent violence and wholesale dismissals of non-Moslems. At times *ulemas* forged traditions, such as that no church was permitted in Islam. The items mentioned in this paragraph are deliberately confined to those presented by a scholar

⁹ Browne, *The Eclipse of Christianity* . . . , pp. 40, 46-7. Vine, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

¹⁰ Cardahi, *op. cit.*, pp. 559-61. Vesey-FitzGerald, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹¹ For the disabilities see Tritton, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-31, 113-4, 119-21, 167, 185-6. Arnold, "Toleration . . . ," pp. 367-8; "Persecution . . . ," pp. 767-8. Vine, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-5. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

famous for his friendly appreciation of Islam, in order that they may be well within the truth and free from hostile prejudice in statement.¹²

It is necessary to carry further the analysis of the disabilities of Christians and other *dhimmis*. The testimony of a *dhimmi* in court was not acceptable in regard to a Moslem, and some legal authorities would not admit it against another *dhimmi*. At first the subject peoples bore the whole weight of taxation, of which the poll tax was the most conspicuous form. Tabari reports that the Caliph Omar determined the policy by which Moslems were "to eat" the conquered *dhimmi*, that is to live by their labor. "And when we and they shall have died, our sons will eat their descendants." But later the Moslems came to pay a land tax and certain religious dues, while for many commercial and general taxes or fees no distinction was made.¹³ Relations between Moslems and non-Moslems, and the legal barrier between the two classes, were, of course, fields of discrimination. Omar is said to have declared: "There can be no inheritance between people of two religions." In application, if the child of a *dhimmi* became Moslem, it could not inherit from the father; if a girl, her father lost control over her marriage. At least one of the exclusive laws seems never to have been breached: a Moslem woman could marry only a Moslem.¹⁴

The wild violence of the Caliph al-Hakim at the beginning of the eleventh century was the work of a man considered to be mad. He began in 1007 by confiscating church properties and publicly burning crosses. Another stroke was to order small mosques built on the roofs of churches. His order for the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was signed, under compulsion, by a Christian vizier. Then Hakim ordered the destruction of all churches and the arrest of bishops. He forbade all trading with Christians. It is considered that in Egypt and Syria 30,000 churches were destroyed or pilaged in the years 1012-14. These dates, decades before the First Crusade, are to be kept in mind when the extreme view is brought forward that attributes Moslem intolerance to the attacks made from Western Christendom. The Jews suffered likewise. There were large numbers of registered conversions.¹⁵

Such wholesale and extreme persecution was abnormal. Yet, the disabilities inflicted upon the Christians century after century were severely burdensome, hampering their development and continually straining consciences either to circumvent the discriminations by fraud and deception or to accept insincere conversion as the road to

¹² Arnold, "Persecution . . .," pp. 767-8. Cf. Tritton, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 230-1. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹³ Tritton, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-7, 192-3, 223. Cf. Vesey-FitzGerald, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-1. Cardahi, *op. cit.*, pp. 556-7.

¹⁴ Tritton, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 186, 187-9, 164.

¹⁵ Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Cardahi, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

justice and opportunity for one's sons and grandsons. Moreover, unjust privilege was cumulatively evil in its effects upon the Mohammedans. Extortion, mob violence, displacement for envy were easy steps to take against those whom religion condemned to inferiority. The whims of individual caliphs, marshalling the full powers of religion and the state combined in absolutism, could sweep away security, justice, even life itself for those who did not profess the accepted religion. A cautious and balanced treatment of the problem presents this conclusion: "The popular fanaticism was accompanied by an increasing strictness among the educated. The spiritual isolation of Islam was accomplished. The world was divided into two classes, Muslims and others, and only Islam counted. There were brilliant exceptions, but the general statement is true."¹⁶

The deterioration of Islamic society combined with the sharpened hostilities of the Crusades, the military advance of the Turks in western Asia (and soon into the Balkans and beyond), and the unarmed state of the subject Christians to arrive at more thoroughgoing intolerance. For instance, this development in 1321 was reported:

Thereupon the Sultan gave way to their clamour and had a proclamation made that any one who should find a Christian should be at liberty to kill him and seize his goods. An order was issued dismissing all Christians who held government office. The attacks of Muslims on Christians increased so greatly that Christians dared not appear in the streets except in disguise. Many Christians adopted Islam.¹⁷

Equally distressing is a view of the development in Egypt in the same era:

The long process of attrition, by which the Copts had gradually gone over to Islam, thus ended in a bitter persecution to the death, in which the Coptic Church was reduced to the meagre numbers of the present day. The cause of this catastrophe was the hatred incurred by the Crusades and the success in arms of those who fought against the Christians. Again, as in the case of Asiatic Christianity, the determining factor was the belief that worldly success is the criterion of the divine favour.¹⁸

A determined effort on the part of a Christian student to reduce accusations against the Moslems and to accept all possible blame for fault and weakness among the Christian communities brings forth this gentle product:

The few instances we have been able to quote of Muslims and Christians joining in each other's festivals are probably significant of a great deal of daily contact. It is true that in some places there was strong communal feeling against the Christians on economic grounds, wherever they continued to hold important offices under government, and from time to time this feeling showed itself in

¹⁶ Browne, *op cit.*, pp. 62-3. Tritton, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

¹⁷ Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

open riots. But apart from this communal feeling, which does not appear to have been universal, Christians and Muslims probably lived on fairly friendly terms up to the time of the Turkish invasion of the eleventh century, and even on into the thirteenth century. It was these normally friendly relationships which accounted for the influence of popular Christianity upon Islam.¹⁹

Making due allowances for the circumstances and the possible objects of such statements, there is meaning in the description of the treatment of Christians recorded in the name of the Metropolitan of Nasibin, Eliyya (1008-49):

What we believe concerning the Muslims is that their obedience and love impresses us more than the obedience of all other religions and kingdoms that are opposed to us, whether we are in their land or not and whether they treat us well or not. And that is because the Muslims regard it as a matter of religion and duty to protect us, to honour us, and to treat us well. And whosoever of them oppresses us, their Master, i.e., their Prophet, will be his adversary on the day of resurrection.²⁰

Before passing to the modern or Turkish period the general story must be made slightly more specific in two areas: Egypt and Spain, as illustrating the widely varying conditions and applications of the Moslem principles. According to tradition Mohammed had predicted the conquest of Egypt and urged his followers to treat kindly the Copts, who were to be considered as actual allies and potential "auxiliaries in the way of good." "Fear God in your relations with the Copts," the Prophet is reported to have commanded. Possibly the Coptic concubine of Christian name, Mariam, the one who bore Mohammed his only and much-mourned son, was a factor in his attitude. For a century the Copts fared relatively well, continuing to hold all positions in local government. Then, the financial exactions were so drastic as to provoke revolts which combined with hardening tendencies in the Islamic system to install thorough repression and control. In the eighth century A.D. four successive caliphs persecuted Christians so severely that bishops and large numbers of Christians, already crushed beyond endurance by economic compulsions, became Moslems. As early as the tenth century the full regime of discrimination was imposed. The harsh reduction of the Copts to something like their present status of a small minority was accomplished through pressures applied throughout hundreds of years, sharpened to "bitter persecution to the death" in the period of the Crusades, and remaining harsh under the Mamelukes on into the Turkish conquest of modern times.²¹

The Moslem record in Spain is an even stranger mingling of expedient tolerance with savage violence and drastic requirements. In

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 183.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²¹ Cardahi, *op. cit.*, pp. 562-6. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion . . .*, II, 302-3. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

the original conquest material superiority and severe taxation were employed to gain great numbers of nominal conversions. Nevertheless, those who remained Christians, excepting persons of high rank who lost their property and personal freedom, were allowed to continue their own ways of life under Spanish courts and bishops. Mixed marriages were fairly common, and there were transfers from either religion to the other. Rough persecution in the ninth century was attributed to denunciation of Islam and the making of proselytes by tolerated Christians. The Almohad Caliph Abd-al-Mumin ruled that only believers could reside in his dominions: death, conversion, or exile were the choices taken, and the tolerated Christians disappeared as an open class. But politics were eventually to undermine this twelfth-century fanaticism. An Almohad struggling for the succession secured the loan of Christian troops by permitting the erection of a Christian church in Morocco, with bells and public worship; soon to develop into an episcopate. Still more remarkable, the Moslem ruler agreed to allow conversion from Islam to Christianity, but not the contrary. At other times and places ferocity abounded, such as the forced circumcision of the Christians in Cordova. Jews also suffered terribly, as in massacres at Granada (eleventh century), the burning of synagogues under Abd-al-Mumin, and frequent pillage.²²

Although the Turks inherited Islam and the Islamic policies toward non-Moslems, they made their own modifications. For instance, in Greece, which they conquered in the fourteenth century, they taxed the rayahs—the flock, Christians—thus: (1) the poll tax, which provided nearly two-thirds of the revenue of the whole Ottoman Empire and amounted to a perpetual tribute from Christian subjects; (2) a five per cent tax on imports and exports—if the owner was a Mohammedan, the rate was halved; (3) in every fourth year a fifth of all boys six to nine years of age drafted for service in the Janissaries, so long as they were able-bodied and needed (the draft continued in this form till 1676). The rayahs were also required to wear distinctive dress and to show no outward signs of their creed upon their churches.²³

The Turks took over the Byzantine system of the Orthodox Patriarch (Constantinopolitan) and made him responsible for all the Orthodox Christians in the empire. The patriarch was elected and deposed, in principle, by a special synod of clerical and lay leaders. But purchase of the office from the Turkish overlord was frequently necessary, and deposition was perhaps the more frequent in anticipation of another sale. The patriarchs were given a good deal of civil authority, and the church taxes were tremendously increased in order to support

²² Lea, *A History of the Inquisition . . .*, I, 144-51. Cardahi, *op. cit.*, pp. 568-70.

²³ Kidd, *The Churches of Eastern Christendom . . .*, pp. 353, 302.

the whole corrupt system. Full liberty of belief and worship was allowed in form, and even in practice, if the serious disabilities under which registered Orthodox had to maintain their lives are granted. A peculiar sign of complete tolerance from the sultans (the Arabs often charged the Turks with irreligion) was the permission to utter anathemas against Moslems on certain holy days.²⁴

The life of a patriarch, whether faithful or whether briefly profitable, was adventurous and short. From the fifteenth century to the twentieth there were 159 patriarchates, though some individuals lost and regained the position five or six times; 105 of the patriarchates were concluded by deposition, usually the immediate act of the Turks; twenty-seven patriarchs died in office, six of them deaths known to be violent. There were twenty-seven abdications, often with strong suggestion or assistance. Nor did recent times see great improvement. In the nineteenth century alone thirty-three patriarchs held office, an average of three years each. In such a parade through more than four hundred years it was inevitable that there should be few patriarchs of distinction and no room for liberty of the spirit. The patriarchs were increasingly limited, even in their ecclesiastical tasks.²⁵ The reforms of 1856 and 1860, the constitution of 1909, and the legislation of 1891 and 1917 were disappointing.²⁶ It should be added that in various ranks of the Orthodox clergy under the Turks there was considerable martyrdom at different periods. More serious were the manifold massacres of Greeks, Bulgarians, Syrians, and Armenians from 1822 to 1918, in which religious elements were prominent.²⁷

Jews were generally treated by Mohammedans much the same as were Christians, sometimes better. The Almohades were particularly severe against the Jews; they destroyed all the synagogues in North Africa and later in Spain, inflicting the choice of death or exile for the believers. The post-Mongol rule in Persia also was cruel in repression of the Jews. Zoroastrians, Sabeans, and Yazidis all had a good deal of trouble under the Moslems. The latter two suffered much in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed, the Turks attempted forcible conversion of the Yazidis. The experience of Hindus and other peoples of India under Moslem rule will be mentioned separately.²⁸

Professor Arnold has pointed out that in a number of instances persecuted Jews and Christians fled to Mohammedan lands in search of safety. An early instance was in 714 on the occasion of Emperor Leo's compulsory baptisms of Jews and of heretic Christians. Spanish Jews sought relief in Turkey at the end of the fifteenth century. The

²⁴ Leontovich, "Religious Institutions . . .," p. 265.

²⁵ Kidd, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

²⁶ Cardahi, *La conception et la pratique . . .*, p. 592.

²⁷ Zwerner, *The Law of Apostasy . . .*, especially pp. 94-5.

²⁸ Arnold, "Persecution . . .," p. 768.

Calvinists of Hungary and Transylvania and the Unitarians of the latter principality are said to have long preferred the Turks to the Roman Catholic Hapsburgs. The Protestants of Silesia in the seventeenth century desired Turkish rule. Cossacks of the Old Believers found tolerable refuge from the Orthodox regime by rushing into the sultan's territories of what is now called the Crimea and adjacent districts. Arnold considers that Islamic tolerance was more operative in the early generations than in the decline of the caliphate (Abbasid), or in the Mongol era, or under the pressure of modern Christian powers. He also believes that the civil authorities were more tolerant than the clergy and that practice was more lenient than the rules of the theological jurists.²⁹

Dr. Hocking calls attention to an address by the Rector of Al-Azhar, the university-seminary of theology, jurisprudence, and Islamic studies in Cairo, famous as a present center of orthodox tradition. The Rector, Sheikh Mustapha Al-Maraghi, was representing a religion ordinarily assertive of its position as the only true faith. Hocking suggests that he must have been confident of the elements in tradition to support him, or he would not have dared to refer to the "charitable spirit" of Islam toward all religions without qualification and to list the common elements of all creeds. The rector concluded by saying to the Fellowship of Faiths that "the noble objective at which you aim is not contrary to the general principles of Islam."³⁰

If such be one indicator of the modern religious winds, the legal movements are in the same direction. A historical survey of the whole problem by an able Near-Eastern jurist, supported of course by the constitutional and political changes in several of the leading Mohammedan countries, is summed up thus:

Is this compenetration of the concept of nationality by religion still the fact in the chief Moslem countries of today?

No, for just in so far as the Islamic states, in contact with Europe and under the pressure of economic needs, have secularized their law, we see them departing from religious rigorism and drawing near, in international law, to modern conceptions.

Yet, half-liberal words and half-liberal laws still have far to go in the face of nationalistic intensifications of the old culture and the old faith.

M. SEARLE BATES

²⁹ Arnold, "Toleration . . .," p. 369.

³⁰ William E. Hocking, *Living Religions and a World Faith*, pp. 112-3.

CHANGES IN ARABIA*

Anne O'Hare McCormick writes in the *New York Times* of January 29, 1945, "New currents stir the World of Genesis." She points out that this land "long a back-water choked with the driftwood of dead civilization is stirred by new currents that will make it a 'problem area' for a long time to come."

Arabia, once the center of human history, is today taking an increasingly important place in the international picture. The cross-roads of the world, this land during World War No. I was of primary interest to Great Britain in particular. But today the whole country is a highway, from Great Britain to India, from the United States to Russia, from Europe to the Western Hemisphere, from the western to the far eastern theaters of war. The expansion of the Persian Gulf ports of Khorramshahr and Bandar Shahpur increased the capacity of those ports from 95,000 tons monthly to 265,000 tons, and the new Iranian Railroad made possible the speedy shipment of war materials to Russia. Permanent modern airports were located in Arab lands before the war; now military air bases have been added many of which no doubt will become permanent for commercial use.

"So long as Egypt and Palestine command the Suez," says the *New York Times*, "so long as Arabia is the world's richest reservoir of oil, so long as the middle East is the aerial short-cut between continents, it will remain an important element in the calculations of the great powers."

Hence it is no wonder that America is taking a new interest in Arabia. C. L. Sulzberger in the *New York Times* of February 12, 1945, states that the American Arabian Oil Company has an investment there of \$100,000,000 which it is likely to expand tenfold during the next decade. American airfields are being surveyed for possible future commercial air bases. American banking concerns are sending their representatives to the newly developed oil fields. An American shipping and trading company is planning to have offices on both the Red Sea and Persian Gulf shores. An American mining syndicate is working on old gold mines in Midian and prospecting for new mines. An American Minister, Col. Wm. A. Eddy, represents the United States government in Jidda, and a Vice Consulate has been opened in Dhahran, the headquarters of the American-Arabian Oil Company. The United States Government has sent an Agricultural Mission to Al Kharj to study irrigation and the agricultural possibilities of the

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country. "American" villages are springing up along the Persian Gulf coast opposite the Bahrain Islands and at Ras Tanura where the oil company is building a new refinery. Modern American bungalows, air-conditioned and furnished, are provided for the American workers. These American experts need help and this is supplied by the Arab, Indian and Iraqi population. The desert Arabs learn to be machinists and in an incredibly short time they become semi-skilled laborers.

All of this is in a country which fifty years ago had only six post-offices on its entire four-thousand-mile coastline!

These recent developments have been encouraged by Ibn Saud, the ruler of Saudi Arabia. The foreign community is governed by oil company officials but subject to Saudi-Arabian laws. Ibn Saud has sent his own representatives to care for and supervise his own subjects working for the oil company.

American papers recently were full of pictures of the meeting of King Ibn Saud and the President of the United States. At this short but momentous meeting which took place in the Bitter Lakes bordering on the Sinaiatic Peninsula, the U. S. warship on which they met "was turned into an Arabian Court." What took place there may have seemed to be interesting and spectacular only, but it probably was more significant than any other event between Yalta and San Francisco.

There is a new spirit of nationalism and racial consciousness among the Arabs. The long-talked-of Arab League has become a reality. The Arab States today stand together and can become a powerful force in world affairs. These countries occupy a strategic position in relation to world trade routes by land, by sea, and by air.

In the light of all these developments let us glance at the latest reports from this field.

Dr. Harrison writes an article in the Oct.-Dec. 1944—No. 204 issue of *Neglected Arabia* entitled, "War and the Mason Memorial Hospital." "The demands on the hospital have grown beyond all previous dreams," he writes. Wards are always crowded: a 75-bed hospital houses 127 patients, including members of the royal family, Bedouin from the desert, pearl divers and fisher folk, merchants from the Pirate Coast, Persians, Indians, and Americans. Last year 1,100 major and 1,700 minor operations were performed. He tells of a special "eye tour" in Hassa where only eye cases were seen. Thousands were treated. The clergyman accompanied the doctor and "was accepted cordially by the King and the people." As ever looking forward to the permanent occupation of inland Arabia, Dr. Harrison points out the difficulties but stresses the importance of the Mission's supreme objective.

Dr. Wells Thoms reports a medical visit to Dhufar, southern Arabia, at the request of Sultan Sayid bin Taimur. The Sultan requested Dr. Thoms to make a medical survey of his country and invited Mrs. Thoms to accompany her husband. They flew part of the way and returned by plane to Muscat. Dr. Thoms writes, "If we were prepared to set up a combination leprosarium and mission farm something like Katpadi I am sure His Highness would welcome the idea and would grant us a good piece of land for that type of work for he is very much interested in improving the produce of the land as well as in doing something for the many lepers here."

Some time ago a report came from Bahrain Women's Medical Work stating that Dr. Esther Barny Ames had received a personal invitation from the King of Arabia to come for a month every six months, as a standing order, to be the official doctor to the palace women. Today we have no woman doctor for any of our women's medical centers let alone sending one into the interior!

Kuwait and Amarah report increased opportunities in both men's and women's work. Reports from educational workers show a growing thirst for education throughout the country. Our Mission schools have played no small part in this growth. The most primitive Moslems are now eager to become literate. Western systems of education are making their way even into the marshes, and the Koran schools are shrinking. Our Mission schools in Basrah are giving some of the under-privileged a chance to satisfy their eager thirst for knowledge and they are getting an opportunity to learn about Jesus Christ from His own Book, not from the Koran. In one of his reports Dr. Van Ess writes, "Thousands of men and boys have met Christ face to face for from two to eight years each every school day in the year. Many of them now hold positions of responsibility and trust in state and society. The sons of many of them are now in school profiting by their father's newer outlook and by the changed home environment of at least a friendly attitude towards the gospel and the promise of an early arrival of the time when a convert's enemies shall not be those of his own household."

Of the Girls' School in Bahrain, Ruth Jackson writes, "All of my teachers are former pupils and what they lack in scholarship they make up for in loyalty. One is teaching a second year without pay." Miss Jackson has started a teachers' training class for former pupils. Other former pupils she sees in their homes and she is proud of the way they are living up to the Christian ideals they learned in school. In the Basrah Girls' School also older girls are helping the small teaching staff. Club work for small girls is opening up a new world to hundreds of bright-eyed, eager youngsters.

But most important of all, today we are witnessing the emerging

Church of Christ in Arabia. The foundations were laid in the early days of the Arabian Mission, in the midst of a very hostile environment. The growth has been slow and there have been many disappointments, but we have faith to believe that here too, "a new current is stirring," and that along with all the developments in the political, economic, and social phases of life in Arabia, there is evidence of the dawning of the day of religious freedom. Then we shall see converts coming in families, not by ones and twos. Then we shall see an organized church with national leadership.

Pray for these small groups of converts! Pray for the missionaries. Our own prayer life needs to be deepened. Whatever we do in the mission field, whether it be in schools, hospitals, homes, or churches, needs to be "saturated with prayer" in order that God may work through us to bring about the coming of His Kingdom in Arabia.

CORNELIA DALENBERG

Amarah, Iraq

The Rights of Women in Islam

In an address at the new Islamic Cultural Centre, in London, Professor Mohammed Allam spoke of "Islam and the Rights of Man"—a rather rosy presentation of the tolerance and freedom in Moslem history. But the climax was reached when he spoke of the weaker sex; his remarks need no comment from us. The Koran says more than enough.

"The Rights of Women have only of recent years received attention in the West.

"But fourteen centuries ago, Islam gave the married woman full emancipation. Her dowry and personal property were her own, to do with as she would. If she saved money on the housekeeping, was it not because she had herself done the work for which her husband was bound in law to provide a servant? Therefore, that money was hers also. She had many other legal privileges denied to her Western sisters until comparatively recent date.

* * *

"As regards polygamy, this was never intended to be a tenet of the Islamic faith. The law permitting a maximum of four wives was a first step towards the abolition of the polygamy practised at that time, and this limitation was later reinforced by the condition—that each of several wives must be treated exactly equally in all respects. This of course is impossible—and was meant to be so, for the Islamic ideal of marriage is monogamistic. Nevertheless, a loophole must be left to allow for specially hard individual cases and in order to avoid concubinage—which, whatever may be thought by Christians, is not approved by Islam."

I

NOTES ON ISLAMIC STUDIES IN THE USSR DURING THE WAR

Oriental Studies in the USSR suffered greatly during the war by severe losses in personnel as well as materials. It is impossible here to recount the damage done to the museums of Kiev, Leningrad, and other cities, for information on the destruction is still incomplete. The transfer of much of the work and many orientalists with the Academy of Sciences to Kurort Borovoye in the Kazak SSR did spare much, and enabled scientific investigations to be continued.¹ Archaeological work also continued with renewed emphasis on the Central Asian republics where many archaeologists went after the invasion. The deaths of leading scholars naturally made work proceed much slower. These notes are intended as a supplement to the informative article on Oriental Studies in the USSR by Minorsky.²

Much of the activity in provincial centers in the USSR does not come to the attention of western orientalists. An indication of the growing importance of such centers is seen in the establishment of a branch of the Academy of Sciences in the Uzbek SSR in November 1943, and a Tajik branch shortly afterwards. The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Uzbek academy has prepared for publication a three-volume annotated catalogue of its collection of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts. This is the largest collection in the USSR and one of the best in the world.³ The Tashkent public library has published a bibliography of the periodical press of Uzbekistan in the local Central Asian languages from 1917-1941.⁴ Work is already in progress on an extensive history of medieval and modern Arabic literature by a special commission, while a complete study of the dialect, folk-songs, and sayings of the Arabs living in the vicinity of Bukhārā has been made by Prof. Vinnikov.⁵ Two scholars are engaged in Arab history, K. Kilberg on the history of Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century, and A. Yakubovskii on the social and economic history of the Abbasid caliphate.⁶ In Iranian studies much work has been done in Central Asia on the poems and literary activity of the Timurid literary figure 'Alī Shīr Nevāī, better known as the greatest Uzbek

¹ Most of the material here noted was obtained from talks with Soviet officials and a letter from A. N. Bernshtam, director of the archaeological museum in Frunze, Kirghiz SSR, 15 January, 1944.

² Minorsky, V., Oriental Studies in the USSR, *Royal Central Asian Journal* v. 30, 1943, 81-101.

³ *Pravda Vostoka* (newspaper), Tashkent, 26 November, 1944.

⁴ *Ibid.* 5 November, 1944.

⁵ *Moscow News*, 18 March, 1944.

⁶ Kratchkovskii, I., *Itogi izucheniiia Arabistiki v SSSR za dvadtsat let*, *Izvestiia, Akademiia Nauk SSSR*, Leningrad 1937, part 5, 1271.

poet, as well as Russian translations of Ḥāfiẓ, part of the Shāh Nāme, and others.⁷

During the last few years a number of scholars in Islamic Studies have died. Among them was A. E. Shmidt of Tashkent, who died there in 1939 while studying the attempts of Nādir Shāh of eighteenth-century Iran to reconcile the Sunnis and Shi'a. The Semitic philologist Vilenchik died in Leningrad just before the German invasion. Prof. P. Z. Kokovtsov, a specialist in Hebrew and Aramaic, and editor of Arabic texts relating to the Khazar kingdom, also died during the war.⁸ His pupil A. Borissov, a specialist on South Arabic inscriptions, was working on Mu'tazilite manuscripts in Leningrad when he died.⁹ Jawzi, an Arab by birth, who edited Arabic passages on the history and geography of the Caucasus area, died in Baku.¹⁰ Henko, a Caucasian scholar, editor of the Arab sources of the history of Shamīl, the leader of Caucasian resistance to the Russians in the last century, also met his death. The Hebrew scholar Ginsberg and the Iranian specialists Romaskevich and young Inostrantsev also lost their lives during the war.¹¹ Many young scholars perished in the struggle, including five assistants in the Arabic section of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences at Leningrad.¹²

Information about Oriental Studies in the USSR is still fragmentary, but it is to be hoped that in time the resumption of normal life in Europe will lead to cooperation between Russian and American orientalists to the advancement of knowledge and mutual understanding.

II

ISLAMIC STUDIES IN TURKEY DURING THE WAR

Islamic studies in Turkey have developed considerably during the war due to an increased interest in the subject among the Turks, as well as the efforts of emigré scholars.¹³ The efforts of H. Gottschalk in reorganizing the University of Istanbul library, the achievements of Helmut Ritter, editor of *Bibliotheca Islamica* and professor of Arabic and Persian at the same university, and the works of O. Rescher and K. Süssheim, have done much to stimulate a growing interest among the younger generation. The contributions of the well-known Turkish scholars Fuad Köprülü, Ahmet Zeki Velidi, A. Caferoğlu, Rahmeti Arat, and others have set high standards in Oriental studies.

⁷ *Moscow News*, 11 March, 1944.

⁸ *al-wafā al-Miṣrī* (newspaper), Cairo, 8 December, 1944.

⁹ One of his last works was Borisov, A., *Avitsenna kak vrach i filosof*, *Izvestiia Akad. Nauk* 1938, parts 1-2, 43-51.

¹⁰ In Russian his name is written Zhuze. He is the author of *Kommunisticheskaia dvizheniia Babeka*, Akad. Nauk, 1922.

¹¹ Romaskevich was editor of the excellent translations of Islamic texts in *Materialy po istorii Turkmenistan i Turkmenii*, Leningrad, 1939.

¹² *al-wafā al-Miṣrī*, *op. cit.*

¹³ The Turkish spelling of proper names, whether of Arabic or Persian origin, will be used.

Hence the progress of Islamic studies in Turkey deserves attention and investigation.

Istanbul was a rich cultural center under the Ottomans who strove to make of it the glory which had been Baghdad under the Abbasids. When Selim captured Tabriz after defeating the Safawid army he found the accumulated treasures of Iran and transported them to his capital. The same happened after the conquest of Damascus, Baghdad, Jerusalem, and Cairo. Istanbul became not only the political center of the great Ottoman empire, and the seat of the caliphate, but a greater center of learning and the arts. Every sultan and pasha strove to outdo his predecessor in building mosques or libraries, and in creating the ever-necessary *waqfs* for the maintenance of their creations. Literary treasures from all over the world of Islam were brought to Istanbul to fill the libraries of the lords of empire, and it is thanks to their love for learning as well as display that we have the rich *evqāf* libraries of Istanbul preserved to our own day, many in the same buildings raised to house the collections in the days of the sultans.¹⁴ The hidden wealth of the libraries of Istanbul have only infrequently been tapped. The French orientalist C. Schefer, in the middle of the last century, made a trip to Istanbul, where he purchased many rare manuscripts, and consulted others in the libraries. Among them he had copied a part of the unique copy of Qudāma ibn Ja'far's *Kitāb al-Kharāj* in the Köprülü library, which was later published by M. de Goeje in the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*. Access to the books was difficult and no catalogues existed, hence many works remained (and still remain) unknown to the scholars of Europe. One of the first orientalists to make a survey of all the libraries was the Iranist P. Horn.¹⁵ After him many savants visited Istanbul and published notices of their findings, usually related to their fields of interest. O. Rescher and H. Ritter, both residents of Istanbul for many years, have made the libraries their lives' work. After Istanbul the collections of Konia are next in size and importance. Bursa and Ankara also have noteworthy collections, while smaller groups may be found in Edirne, Kayseri, and other towns. The vast majority remains uncatalogued and unexplored.¹⁶ The large number of Islamic manu-

¹⁴ Horn, P., *Persische Handschriften in Constantinopel*, *ZDMG* 54, 1900, 275-332; 475-509. He claims that there were fifty-one collections of manuscripts in Istanbul. The complete set of forty-two volumes of catalogues was prepared by order of the sultan, and is quite rare at present. It is said that a copy of the Ummumi library catalogue has not appeared in the bazaars for twenty years. These catalogues are defective and full of errors.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* This deals only with Persian manuscripts. The following orientalists have published descriptions of collections or various manuscripts relating to different fields: Barthold, Codera, Horowitz, Plessner, Rescher, Ritter, Rhodokanakis, Schacht, Spies, Taeschner, and Tauer principally in *Der Islam*, *Archiv Orientalni*, *ZDMG*, *WZKM*, *MSOS*, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, and *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*.

¹⁶ Catalogues of the valuable collections in Top Kapu Saray (the palace of the sultans) have never been published. Handwritten catalogues of the collections Ahmed III, Baghdad Kösk, and Revan Kösk are located in the reading room of the library.

scripts is nearly matched by the Greek and Armenian, of which Istanbul has many.¹⁷

Turkish scholars realize that this great fund of literature must be catalogued, and a commission is working on a catalogue of historical manuscripts, two fascicules of which have recently been published.¹⁸ The task is enormous and foreign aid, both in funds and specialists, is needed. Prof. Ritter has spent many years in photographing and studying the manuscripts of Istanbul. Today he has a collection of over one hundred thousand metres of film of various Islamic subjects catalogued by author, title, and library in which the mss. are located. As a result of this work Ritter has made many additions and corrections to Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, now completed.¹⁹ Various Turkish institutions, such as Arsiviler, Tîb Tarih Fakültesi, etc., have also microfilmed manuscripts of special interest.

The interest, and scholarly publications, in Islamic studies is not a product of Kemalist Turkey, but rather an intensification of earlier trends. The story of Islamic studies in Turkey may be divided into the period before the language reform, and the post-latinization era, beginning from 1929. Under the sultans the *Tārikk-i-'Othmānī Encümeni Mecmuası* (Review of the Institute for Ottoman history) maintained high standards in the study of Ottoman history. In 1927 the short-lived, but well edited *Millî Tettebbü'ler Mecmuası* was issued by Fuad Köprülü. Among the texts edited in this period was the early history of Anatolia by Astarābādī.²⁰ The two most prominent figures of this period were Fuad Köprülü²¹ and Halil Edhem,²² the latter director of the museums of Top Kapu Saray.

It is with the new Turkey of the new alphabet and spirit that we are primarily concerned as the background for the war period. The reform of the language caused great difficulties, and a halt in scientific work for some time. But soon the country began to reap the rewards from this much needed revision. Education expanded in an amazing fashion, and government interest in the past of Turkey provided a stimulus to young scholars. Quite a number of specialists in the Islamic field came to the fore. A survey of the people at present engaged in Islamic studies may prove of value. They are listed under the fields of Islamics, Medieval history, and Ottoman history.

In general Islamics there are many young people engaged in re-

¹⁷ cf. Schede, M., *Wegweiser für Wissenschaftliche Reisen in der Türkei*, 2nd ed. 1937 for bibliography.

¹⁸ *Istanbul kütüphaneleri Tarih-Cografya yazmaları katalogları*, I. Türkce Tarih yazmaları, iki fasikül, Istanbul 1943, 1944.

¹⁹ There are now two original volumes, and three supplementary volumes, indices complete, and also a revised edition of the first original volume which I saw by prof. Ritter in Istanbul.

²⁰ Aziz ibn Astarābādī, *Bazm ve Razm*, ed. Fuad Köprülü, Istanbul 1928. F. Giesecke has made a study of this work published in Leipzig 1942.

²¹ Kurat, A. N., *Fuad Köprülü'nün bibliyografyası*, Istanbul 1940.

²² Mayer, L., in Memoriam, Halil Edhem Eldem 1861-1938, *Ars Islamica* 6, 1939, 198-201.

search. The above mentioned Prof. Ritter is at present working on Arabic poetry, and is also engaged in editing several texts for *Bibliotheca Islamica*.²³ Prof. Serefeddin Yaltaka, at present Diyanet isleri reisi in Ankara, is the editor of the two-volume edition of Khâjî Khalfa's *Kashf al-Zunûn*.²⁴ O. Rescher, at present in charge of the European books in Top Kapu Saray, continues his work on Arabic literature, issuing many pamphlets and books, privately printed in small quantities. Doçent Ahmet Ates of Sarkiyat Enstitüsü, Istanbul University, has finished an edition of the Persian *Sinabâd Nâme*, written in the time of the Ilék khans of Turkestan, which contains many interesting and new items of information. Necati Lugal, formerly of Hamburg University, now professor of Arabic in Ankara University, has made a translation of the Seljuk history of İsfahâni.²⁵ Tahsin Öz, director of the museums of Top Kapu saray, is engaged in questions of Islamic art as well as archives material.²⁶

In Islamic and Medieval Turkish history the doyen of Turkish scholars is Prof. Fuad Köprülü, now Kars *millet vekili* in the national assembly. Well known in European scholarly circles, he founded, and was editor of the journals *Türkiyat Mecuası*, *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarih Mecmuası*, and others. Ahmet Zeki Velidi is well known for his works on the history of the Turks in Russia. His latest book is a well-documented study and edition of the *risâle* of Ibn Faḍlân, the manuscript of which was found in Meshed by the author.²⁷ Mükrimin Halil Yinanç, professor of Islamic history at Istanbul university, is an authority on the history of Anatolia,²⁸ while Semseddin Günaltay, head of the Turkish historical society in Ankara, is concerned with Seljuk history, as is doçent Osman Turan of the Dil-Tarih faculty of Ankara university.²⁹ Karl Süsseim, of the Edebiyat faculty of Istanbul university, is working on medieval historical texts.

In the field of Ottoman history Istanbul has a number of specialists. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı has studied the works of the early Ottoman mystic poets.³⁰ Cemal Tuğın, of the same faculty, works on recent history. Perhaps the outstanding man in this field is I. H. Uzunçarşılı of the Turkish archives.³¹ In Ankara Enver Ziya Karal is professor of Ottoman history, and a specialist in late Ottoman times.³²

²³ Ritter, H., ed. Farid al-Din 'Atṭar, *Ilāhınâme*, Istanbul 1940; Sawānīh, *al-Ghazzālī's Aphorismen über die Liebe*, Istanbul 1942; Meier, F., ed. *Firdaus u'l-Mursidiyya fī asrār 'is-şamādiyya* of Kāzarūnī, Istanbul 1942. (All copies were destroyed in Leipzig.)

²⁴ Yaltaka, S., ed. Kātip Celebi, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 2 vols. Istanbul 1941-3.

²⁵ Lugal, N., trans. Hüseyin, *Ahbār ud-Devlet is-Selcukiye*, Ankara 1943.

²⁶ He is one of the editors of *Tarih Vesikaları*, cf. below.

²⁷ Togan, Ahmet Zeki Velidi, *Ibn Faḍlân's Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939; also *Birünî's Picture of the World*, Mem. Arch. Survey of India 53, (no date or place of publication).

²⁸ Yinanç, M., *Anadolu Beylikleri*, Ankara 1937.

²⁹ Turan, O., *Müsâmeret ül-Ahbâr*, Mogollar zamanında Türkiye Selçukları Tarihi, Aksaraylı Mehmed oğlu Kerimüddin Mahmud, Ankara 1944.

³⁰ Gölpınarlı, A., *Yunus Emre Hayatı*, Istanbul 1936.

³¹ Uzunçarşılı, I. H., *Osmanlı teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941; also *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilâtından Kapıkulu ocakları*, 2 vols., Ankara 1943-5.

³² Karal, E. Z., *Selâm III ün Hatîî Humayunları*, Ankara 1942.

Prof. Akdes Nimet Kurat of Ankara University is a specialist on Russian history, and the Turks of South Russia.³³ In the history of science Dr. Süheyl Ünver and Adnan Adıvar, whose wife is Halidé Edip, well-known Turkish authoress, have both done creditable work in a relatively new field.³⁴

In Turkish philology much has been done in ancient Turkish, the Orkhon writings as well as Uighur, and dialectology, which does not concern us here. Ahmet Caferoğlu, professor of Turkish language and literature in Istanbul, has worked on Azerbaijan literature and Anatolian dialects.³⁵ Rahmeti Arat has been working long on a definitive study of the *Kudatgu Bilig*, including a complete index of all words in all manuscripts.

It is obviously impossible to mention all of the organizations and institutes in Turkey which are interested in, and publish occasional items concerning, Islamic affairs. The Türk Tıp Tarih Enstitüsü publishes works concerning the history of medicine in Islam,³⁶ and there is a Türk-Islam Encyclopedia society which issues fascicules relating to Islamic Studies. The Islam Ansiklopedisi tahrir hey'eti, located in the Türkiyat Enstitüsü of Istanbul University, and directed by Adnan Adıvar, is a commission for the systematic translation and revision (of subjects relating to the Turks) of the Encyclopaedia of Islam. In March 1945 the twenty-third fascicule on Cagatay literature had been issued. The Turkish Historical Society publishes a series of books of interest to Islamic scholars. Turkish translations of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* of Rashīd al-Dīn, and the excellent work by Moravcsik³⁷ are being made. The quarterly *Belleten* is published by the society, and contains information on archaeology as well as Islamics and Turkish history. The new *Türk Hukuk Tarih Enstitüsü Mecmuası* and the *Türkiyat Mecmuası* frequently have articles on Islamic subjects. Recently two important volumes on the history of *evqāf* appeared.³⁸ A group of German emigrés issue a series entitled *Istanbuler Schriften*, several items of which related to Islamics.³⁹ The *halkeviler*, or people's clubs in many towns throughout Turkey, organize and publish lectures on various subjects including Oriental Studies, but it is very difficult to obtain these publications which are locally printed in small numbers.

³³ Kurat, A. N., *Topkapı müzesi arşivindeki Altınordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait Yarluk ve Bitikler*, Istanbul 1940.

³⁴ Adıvar, A., *La Science chez les Turcs Ottomanes*, Paris 1939. Dr. Ünver has published a great amount of material, much of it privately printed and difficult of access. There is a bibliography of his works, also printed privately.

³⁵ Caferoğlu, A., *Anadolu orgizlerinden toplamalar*, Istanbul 1943; *Anadolu diyalektolojisi üzerine malzeme*, Istanbul 1941.

³⁶ Ünver, S., *Tansukname-i Han der Funun Ulu mu Hatai Mukaddimesi*, Istanbul 1939.

³⁷ Moravcsik, G., *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*, *Byzantinoturcica* I, Budapest 1942; *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Budapest 1943. (*Byzantinoturcica* II.)

³⁸ *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1939-41.

³⁹ Tietze, A., *Türkisches Lesebuch für Ausländer*, Istanbul 1943; Anhegger, R., *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im Osmanischen Reich*, 2 vols. 1944-5.

The most important work in Islamic Studies is the two-volume edition of Khāji Khalfā. Unfortunately it is not an edition based on newly discovered manuscripts, or new finds, but rather a reprint, with corrections and revisions, of Flügel's edition. In Seljuk history the Akseray history of the Seljuks is an important source for the history of Anatolia in late medieval times.⁴⁰ A text and translation of a Seljuk history in verse has been published by Fuad Köprülü.⁴¹ In Ottoman history the appearance of Arsivi Kılavuzu, a guide to the archives of Top Kapu Saray, with photostatic reproductions of some of them, and the monthly journal *Tarih Vesikaları*, have been important strides in Ottoman history, for the sources have hardly been tapped. In Turkish literature the publication of Seljuk or early Ottoman literary productions has been noteworthy. Among them are an edition of the letters of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and the *Divān* of Sultan Veled.⁴² The publication of the *Divān Lughat al-Turk* of Mahmūd Kāshgarī, with translation, a photostatic copy of the manuscript, and complete indices, has fulfilled a long-felt need for this most important source for the history of Central Asia in the 10th and 11th centuries, not to mention the great value for philologists.⁴³ It is hoped that complete editions and studies of all early Turkish texts will be made in the future.

While this by no means ends the list of important publications relating to Islamics, which appeared in Turkey during the war, it serves to indicate the range and scope of these studies there. In the future more will be heard of Turkish scholars in Islamic studies. It should be remembered that the University of Ankara, as well as the historical society, and others, are new institutions.⁴⁴ Oriental Studies, in the European sense of the word, represent a relatively recent innovation in Turkish education, even though much work was done even under the sultans. Such institutions as the Sarkiyat and Türkiyat institutes of Istanbul University provide excellent training for young Turkish scholars. The post-war period should bring an impressive development in Islamic Studies in Turkey.

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⁴⁰ cf. also Isiltan, F., *Die Selttschukengeschichte des Akserâyî*, Leipzig 1943; a Turkish translation has appeared: Gencosman, N., *Selcukî devletleri tarihi*, Ankara 1943.

⁴¹ Köprülü, M. F., Anis al-Kulub, Anadolu Selcukları Tarihinin yerli kaynakları, *Belleten* 27, 1943, cf. Koman, M., *Unsi'nin Selcuk Sehnamesi*, Konya 1942.

⁴² Akyürek, A. R., ed. *Mevlânânın Mektupları*, Istanbul 1937; *Mevlânânın yedi ögüdü*, Istanbul 1937; Gencosman, N., ed. *Divanı Sultan Veled*, Ankara 1941.

⁴³ Atalay, B., ed. *Divanü Lügat-it-Türk*, 4 vols. text and photostat, plus one vol. of indices, Istanbul 1939-43.

⁴⁴ The first issue of *Belleten* appeared in 1937.

BOOK REVIEWS

Suleiman the Magnificent, 1520-1566. By Roger Bigelow Merriman. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1944. pp. viii, 325. Four illustrations, map.

This monograph is based on a study made by the late Professor Coolidge of Harvard University, the MS. of which was willed by him to his colleague, Professor Merriman, and is a tribute to the vision and initiative of Professor Coolidge in broadening the courses in history offered by the University.

Professor Merriman's work is a biography of Suleiman the Magnificent in terms of the campaigns which he conducted against the European powers, the Shah of Persia, the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, and incidentally the Abyssinians, all parts of "the great contest between the Mohammedan and the Christian worlds." An admirable introductory chapter epitomizes Osmanli history under the preceding sultans, this contest being ever in mind. Later on, two chapters describe the Ottoman regime—the sultan and his powers; the "institutions" through which he ruled, and their organization; his court; the women of the harem, especially Rozelana, whose influence became paramount; and personal characteristics of Suleiman. There is an exhaustive study of the portraits of Suleiman, and there are informing bibliographical notes.

The first impulse of this reader, on finishing the book, was to draw up an outline for himself of the stages in Suleiman's career; a commentary on the interest aroused, and also upon the illusion of simplicity which the author has contrived to cast over the narrative. Selective use of materials, clarity of description, and maintenance of perspective combine to divert attention from the maze of European politics which the author is skirting. However, after the campaigns of the first fifteen years (Belgrade, Rhodes, Mohacs, Vienna I and II) there is a chapter on relations between Suleiman and France in which the veil is lifted; and when the subsequent campaigns in Hungary are reached, we are told openly that "the tale of Suleiman's doings in the Danube valley during the thirty years which followed the peace of 1533 (with Ferdinand of Austria) is one of the most difficult and complicated in the history of Europe." The more are we beholden to the author for his wise guidance!

The fear of the Turks that gripped Europe, the Turkish victory at Mohacs, the siege of Vienna by the Turks, the capitulations gained by Francis I, through a treaty which Christendom accounted disgraceful, these are matters of common knowledge. But here we have the Turkish side. Mohacs was the reply of Suleiman to the victory of Charles V over Francis I at Pavia. The siege of Vienna failed because the Turkish army outran its communications. The second Vienna campaign "against the King of Spain" degenerated into a raid because Charles V was two hundred miles in the rear at Ratisbon "in hiding," and Suleiman could not find him to try conclusions with him. The capitu-

lations were the continuation of policies received by Suleiman from his father, and while it may be possible to consider that they "made Turkey into a sort of French crown colony," they also conferred on the sultan legitimate standing in the diplomatic councils of Europe, a definite achievement. Born of the common interests and the concurrent political necessities of both France and Turkey, the capitulations endured for more than three hundred years.

Suleiman was truly one of the "Big Four" of the sixteenth century with Charles V, Francis I, and Henry VIII. He inherited illustrious titles. He was Khan of the tribe of Osman, Emir and Sultan, *Kaisar-i-Roum* and *Basileus* though Moslem in faith, and Guardian and Protector of the Holy Cities. In addition, none of his predecessors entertained "anything like such a lofty conception of the dignities and responsibilities of his office as Commander of the Faithful." "As Commander of the Faithful he felt it his duty to extend his protection over all the Moslem peoples in the world, and support the Crescent wherever it clashed with the Cross." Although he failed to match swords with Charles V in Europe, his lieutenants succeeded in North Africa where Charles V met signal defeat, and in the Western Mediterranean where the Turkish naval power became dominant until Lepanto.

Suleiman was well aware of the double-dealing tactics and the unreliability of both Francis I and Charles V in their relations with him; he trusted neither of them, and condemned them both. As for Suleiman himself, "political and religious interests coincided. He was attacking at once the enemy of his empire and the foe of his faith; he had no doubts and no scruples." Also Suleiman "punctiliously fulfilled all his promises to Francis."

On his last campaign into Hungary he "did his utmost to inspire his men with the idea that they were fighting a holy war. Appropriate passages of the Koran were read to them, and chants of victory and conquest were sung as they passed along." On the way he ordered the execution of his commander at Buda "for slackness and inefficiency in his warfare with the Christians round about him." Four or five weeks later Suleiman succumbed in his tent, probably to a heart attack brought on by his exertions. He "died standing, as Vespasian had declared that an Emperor should."

JOHN ERNEST MERRILL

Al-Ghazali, the Mystic. By Margaret Smith, M.A., D.Lit. London, Luzac & Co., 1944. pp. 247. Cloth binding. 21/—.

The author of this new book on Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Tusi al-Ghazali has given the western world material for a further appreciation of Islam's greatest theologian and exponent of Sufism. His teaching has influenced Islamic thinking from Spain to the cities of East China. No thoughtful *ahung* of the Celestial Kingdom would consider his library complete without at least one Arabic or Persian book of al-Ghazali. It is a "study of his life and personality, together with an account of his mystical teaching and an estimate of his place in the history of Islamic mysticism." There are fourteen chapters in all, the first half of these given over entirely to the story of his life and

appraisal of his personality. It contains a full account of his life from his birth in Tus and continuing through his life in Bagdad, his pilgrimages after truth and his final days as leader of the Sufis at his old home in Tus. This is followed by several chapters dealing with the many-sidedness of his character, such as his love of music, of beauty and his life of prayer.

The second half of the book classifies his mystical teaching, starting with a discussion of his source material. Much of this tells of his debt to Plotinus. He received much also from Christian and Jewish sources, having made a careful study of the New Testament in the Arabic text accepted at his time. There are many quotations, mainly from al-Ghazali's earlier work, the "Ihya 'Ulum al-Din," which shows the development of his thought and teaching, especially that of the mystical path. The last chapter but one shows his influence, not only among Moslem writers, but also among the Jewish and Christian works, particularly those of St. Thomas Aquinas and Dante. The last chapter stresses his high place in Islamic Sufism. Not since Dr. Zwemer's "A Moslem Seeker after God" has such a thorough study of al-Ghazali been made and presented in English. The book under review gives a more detailed examination of his writings from the philosophical approach. This is a welcome contribution to the study of mysticism in Mohammedanism by one who is sympathetic and appreciative of mysticism, and who by much study is capable of speaking on the subject.

C. L. PICKENS

Shanghai, China

The First Americans in North Africa: William Eaton's struggle for a vigorous policy against the Barbary Pirates (1799-1805). By Louis B. Wright and Julia H. Macleod. Princeton University Press. pp. 227. \$3.00.

In the story by Josephine Young Case, entitled *Written in Sand*, we had a novelist's version (reviewed in our July issue) of the romantic expedition which is the subject of this carefully documented chapter in American history. An extraordinary collection of manuscripts at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, enabled the two authors, the former a well-known historian, to produce a monograph on the bizarre expedition, which is as interesting as it is definitive in character. Here we have the complete story of Eaton's attempt to set up in Tripoli a puppet government favorable to the United States. All the details of the expedition and the march from Alexandria to Derna and its capture are portrayed in scholarly fashion. There is new light on the background of the long-lived menace of these Barbary pirates and on the relations of Jefferson and other political figures to the hero of this march-to-the-sea. Those interested in Islam have also from Eaton's own diary and letters abundant testimony of his reactions to the religion and the ethics of the Moslems whom he met and used for his ends.

The route which Eaton followed with his rabble army was approximately that of General Montgomery in pursuit of the German Rommel, but one hundred and forty years earlier. Eaton's accomplishments as consul at Tunis and conqueror of Derna were important in the final solution of the Barbary problem and in the establishment of our naval prestige in that part of the world. Two maps and eight il-

illustrations together with abundant notes and a full index add greatly to the value of this book.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

New York City

Religious Liberty. By M. Searle Bates. New York, International Missionary Council and Harper and Brothers, 1945. pp. 604. \$3.50.

Dr. Searle Bates' monumental book on Religious Liberty is the work of a scholar but it is also enlivened by the practical discrimination of a man who has traveled widely and secured first-hand knowledge of conditions in many lands.

The history of the development of the idea of religious liberty is given in great detail with illustrations from all parts of the world and apt quotations from a bewildering variety of sources both Christian and non-Christian. It is rather unique to find Mohammed himself quoted in defense of the idea and this is symbolic of the author's broad, unprejudiced approach to the whole question. Of particular interest also, is Dr. Bates' keen analysis of the basic philosophy of religious freedom in its relation to the State, to religion itself, to natural law, and to international law.

Before developing the philosophical basis and the history of the development of the idea of religious liberty, Dr. Bates gives in the first quarter of the book a discussion of contemporary problems, presenting case studies of the situation in a long list of countries where the issue is an acute one. This is a portion of the book invaluable to anyone interested in missions or in international questions of any kind. In developing these case studies the author has at the same time presented the reader with a thrilling chapter in church history as he pictures the heroic struggles of the church in occupied countries where it has acted as the focal point of resistance to oppression of the human spirit. The book will be the classical reference for many years on the whole subject of religious liberty, which has developed a new and critical importance in recent years because of fresh challenges to that idea which have arisen in unexpected quarters. One chapter of the book is reprinted in this issue of *THE MOSLEM WORLD*.

F. M. POTTER

New York City

Orientations. By Ronald Storrs. Definitive Edition. London, Nicholson and Watson, 1945. pp. 532. 10 sh. 6d.

The first edition of this autobiography appeared in 1937 and after several reprintings this is the second printing of the Definitive edition.

Sir Ronald Storrs spent twenty-eight years in the Near East, entering the Egyptian Government Service in 1904. Five years later, at twenty-eight, he became Oriental Secretary to the British Agency. In 1916 he met Lawrence of Arabian fame who, in his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, speaks of Storrs as "the most brilliant Englishman in the Near East, and subtly efficient, despite his diversion of energy in love of music and letters, of sculpture, painting, of whatever was beautiful in the world's fruit. . . . Storrs was always first, and the great man among us." In 1917 he saw service as Political Officer in Mesopotamia

where he was in contact with Sir Percy Cox, Gertrude Bell and other pathfinders in the complex desert of Arabian diplomacy during the first World War.

He became first military and then civil Governor of Jerusalem, and later Governor of Cyprus for six years. The author is a versatile, classical scholar, a lover of the arts, with keen insight into human nature, a sense of humor and remarkable knowledge of both Oriental languages and character.

In the index, all the leading Egyptians, Arabs, Turks, Germans and British who played their part or were kings and pawns on the international chess-board, find a place. The brilliant chapter on Zionism (pp. 338-390) must be read, as it sets forth the immense difficulties that confronted Jew, Arab and Briton and confront the world today in the solution of the Palestine problem. Sir Ronald Storrs is prejudiced in favor neither of Jew nor Arab, but only of justice and peace.

There are some fine tributes, in these crowded pages, to Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries in the Near East, especially to Dr. and Mrs. Mylrea of Kuwait "whom I admired for their holding up the clean European torch of ordinary decent living in these rebarbative regions." "Many women attend mission services and Moslem callers sometimes number two hundred a month but the town in general is liberal." He also records his debt of gratitude to the late Bishop MacInnes and Mr. Stephen Trowbridge for their signal service in Palestine Relief.

There are twenty illustrations and this latest edition has been fully revised; some footnotes even are dated 1945.

S. M. ZWEMER

New York City

Balkan Background. By Bernard Newman. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1945. pp. 354. \$2.50.

The author of *Balkan Background*, we are told, spent fifteen summers (up to 1942) wandering about Europe, and he has also done military and political intelligence work there in recent years. He has written some forty travel books and spy stories. Here he discusses the thorny problems facing the United Nations in the Balkans, showing at the outset the effects of Turkish rule and of the political domination of various European powers in this region during the past two centuries. "The bitterest Turkish legacy in the Balkans" he writes, "was not that of cruelty or confusion, but that of corruption . . . every man had his price." The problem of minorities, complicated as it is by religious loyalties, and by the fact that every race is of very mixed blood, is not minimized, and the revision of boundary lines to correct the mistakes of former peace treaties is urged. Overtopping all else is the need for economic security and advancement in a part of the world where the average cash income of a peasant family is \$70 a year. Mr. Newman devotes a chapter each to Bulgaria, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, and Turkey, in which he describes the character of the people, and the history of the country, particularly in its relation to the other Balkan states and to the rest of Europe. The concluding chapter, "The New Balkans," is a mass of suggestions, suppositions, and proposed plans for the future, a future depending

primarily, the author says, upon two considerations: complete victory over Germany and "the continuance and expansion of British, American, and Russian agreement and collaboration." In the Balkans, as in every other part of the world, solutions can be found only through mutual trust and understanding. Mr. Newman's style is at times rambling, and his use of exclamation points is irritating. On the whole, this is a stimulating presentation of background material, as the title suggests. The author points the way to further study by listing a variety of books on the subject, giving critical estimates of each. The fourteen sketch maps scattered through the book are adequate.

MARY Z. BRITAIN

Columbia University

Der Islam: Seine Geschichte, Seine Lehre, Sein Wesen. Von Emanuel Kellerhals. Missionsbuchhandlung, Basel. Seiten 382. Fr. 14—.

Striking monographs on various aspects of Islam have appeared in considerable number in the last decades. What was needed and not yet supplied was a general and coordinate concept, a theological presentation of all these researches. The present volume fills the vacancy. Mohammed's person and his religion are portrayed by Missionsinspector Kellerhals with distinctness and vigor; as also the development of Islam after the founder's death, together with the historical and religious questions that find their center in Islam. The reliability of the author and his theological acumen are evident from the outset. We are especially grateful that E. Kellerhals reaches his conclusions and his evaluation of Islam from a Biblical standpoint. In this work the reader has a wide view and a deeply penetrating yet sober judgment of Islam from the pen of an evangelical missionary. We doubt not that this excellent study will make its own way.

PROF. D. FRITZ BLANKE

Basel, Switzerland

Glimpses of Islam. By Prince Aga Khan and Dr. Zaki Ali. Geneva, 1944. Publishers, Mohammed Ashraf, Lahore. pp. 72.

This interesting brochure consists of three chapters. The first is a summary of the fundamentals of Islam from the viewpoint of a liberal of the Ismaili sect, whose faith in orthodox Islam sits lightly. "Islam means peace." "The Islamic principle is better defined as monorealism than as monotheism." The second chapter, which occupies the bulk of the little book, is a very good summary of "Islam and Medical Sciences," telling what western medicine and surgery owe to the legacy of Islam from the Middle Ages. Dr. Zaki Ali quotes mostly from German sources, as his English style shows. The third chapter is entitled "Religious Revival of Islam," and is signed by both authors: "There is a growing recognition among Muslims that they must show themselves to be alive to the present and face forward." "We therefore suggest holding an all-Islam Conference." This is to be of all sects and parties for a new *ijtihad* with fidelity to the Koran—a Congress "to act until the Caliphate is restored. . . ." "The main object of such a conference would be to come to an agreement on the most appropriate interpretation, in the light of the conditions of the

present age, of Muslim law in all its aspects: an interpretation which would meet the spiritual and material needs of our times. . . ." "As far as technical and economic progress is concerned, we admit that Muslim countries are, in fact, one or even two centuries behind Western Christendom in this material domain. . . ." "Among the Christians, the Papacy, the council of Bishops and the Elders of the Free Churches are institutions which serve as guardians of the Christian Faith. In Islam, since Mustafa Kemâl abolished the Caliphate in 1923, unfortunately, it has been nobody's business to look after the religious interests of the Muslim world,—a sort of rudderless ship on the wild seas of modern life. Left to itself, such a ship must inevitably either sink or become seriously damaged."

S. M. Z.

The World of the Arabs. By Edward J. Byng. Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1944. pp. 325. \$2.50.

There is no dearth of books on Arabia and the Arabs since the outbreak of the Second World War. But it is hard to follow in the footprints of Doughty, Bertram Thomas, Philby, and Freya Stark. Their volumes rise like the Himalayas in comparison with the present author's foothill to a great subject and a great people. The publisher's jacket speaks in laudation of the author's long experience, wide travels, and deep knowledge of his theme; but one has to read only a few pages to realize that he knew neither the language nor the people of Arabia thoroughly. "Moslem" does *not* mean "supporter or follower." *Mahfeesh* is neither Arabic nor Egyptian. The writer sees everything through colored spectacles which were made in Istamboul. The Introduction is by one who signs himself "The Caliph of Islam, Abd-ul-Majid II"! And stranger still, the author says he learned much of Arab culture from "Azam Jah, Prince of Berar." This telescopic view of the Arab race in Part One, stretches from Morocco across to the Garden of Eden in sixty pages. Algiers "is derived from *El Jerz*"! In some cities of North Africa unmarried women artists have to undergo a medical test for virginity before they are allowed to perform on the stage! (p. 25) So we might go on to quote further absurdities and crude judgments. "Don Quijote" does service to explain the Bedouin mentality (p. 61), and the story of Ibn Saud's rise to power is not correct. Freya Stark is not mentioned, yet two pages suffice to tell the whole story of the "skyscrapers of Hadhramaut." In Part II we have a garbled account of the birth of Islam. Mohammed's Allah is superior to "Javeh of the Jews," who was a stern war-god (p. 119). Part III deals with the history of the Arab world since the seventeenth century; Part IV tells of our debt to the Arabs and Part V discusses the future of the Arabs in the postwar world. Through the book runs the theme that the soul of the Oriental is superior to that of the Occidental: "With the exception of a handful of people in the West, really advanced souls in the East actually tower above even the most highly evolved Occidental" (p. xvi). and in the closing paragraphs of the book, "While advanced people in the West have *intelligence*, advanced souls in the East have *wisdom*" (p. 307). If Dr. Byng had had a little more of both, he would have known that such foolish generalizations do not promote friend-

ship between East and West. He himself writes in his introduction that "generalization is one of the greatest enemies of spiritual growth"; and, one might add, of international understanding. It is a pity that this general survey of the Arab world could not have been accurate as well as readable. As it is, Dr. Byng's little knowledge is a dangerous thing, particularly in furthering the cause of Arab-American friendship.

S. M. Z.

The Will and Testament of Abdul Baha. By Mirza Ahmad Sohrab. Universal Publishing Company, New York, 1944. pp. 121.

We see again in this analysis the most unfortunate divisions which have made bitter enemies of the leaders in a movement that was supposed to be founded on love. There are also examples here of the grossly exaggerated estimates of sayings from Abdul Baha, which in impartial judgment seem hardly the equal in wisdom or truth of an ordinary sermon delivered by the average Christian minister.

J. CHRISTY WILSON

CURRENT TOPICS

An Irish Chaplain's Visit to an Algerian Mosque

Loitering in the square the other day I must have looked a "good mark," for one of those ageless Arabs, complete with turban and stick, shuffled up to me and introduced himself as the "official guide—yes-no—" to some nearby Mosques. I let myself be inveigled into a tour of inspection—for a consideration!

We went down two flights of broad stairs passing quite a large number of Mohammedan women and children who were sitting there apparently enjoying the sunshine. Inside the mosque I got a rapid survey of broad spaces covered with mats, barefooted men praying or walking about or washing at a sort of fountain. My guide, anxious to impress me with the ancient glory of the mosque, reverently pointed to the parts two thousand years old and more, and was most apologetic for those that were only sixteen hundred!! The history didn't disturb me at all, for there was much to see.

Eventually we worked our way into an inner sanctum where a sort of priest—marabout—was squatted on a rug "saying his office!" I squatted beside him, by invitation; the Koran was produced, and reverently read for me, and a piece translated. And then, at the guide's suggestion, the marabout prayed for me with hands raised high. He was very earnest about it too, for he must have noticed that I needed it!!

When he had finished, I thanked him. But I wouldn't be outdone. I told the guide to tell him that *I* would pray *for him*—a quid pro quo! Not waiting to see how he would take it, I rose promptly, and prayed for my Mohammedan priest and, instinctively, blessed him. He never batted an eyelid when I made the sign of the Cross over him! I then gave him some money for the poor and bade him farewell, with a blast of my best Irish! The result surprised me. Never having heard this melodious mixture before, I suppose, the old man was overcome. Taking my right hand in both his, he shook it and tried to repeat my words after me. I felt I'd made a hit. What an exit! But it was nothing to what followed.

I got outside and now faced up those steps the crowd of Arab women whose backs had been turned to me as I came down. There they were, waiting for something or somebody; the poorest of the poor, the blind, the halt and the lame, old harpies covered with sores, young ones squinting over their yashmaks, little ones still beautiful. What a collection of faces! What wretchedness! Pausing for a moment, I was suddenly aware of a boney excrescence at the end of an arm waving in front of me—a compelling sort of gesture. I just couldn't deny the unspoken appeal, so I dipped in my pocket and gave her some money. Immediately the magic of money galvanized that crowd into a frantic activity. In a jiffy they were milling round me, stricken humanity, with hands outstretched, hundreds of them, to clutch and hold me. They did. I couldn't budge. I knew that the little

I had couldn't satisfy them, and had a couple of bad moments thinking of the possibilities. I gave to some, and with the aid of much gesticulation and many a rueful smile, finally convinced them that I had none left except what I'd kept for the guide. In this way I tore myself free, though one lassie, persistent to the end, followed me on her crutch across the square with hand outstretched and mute appeal for help in her eyes—picture for a Priest to carry with him to the end of his days.

—*White Fathers Missions*

Arabic Studies at the Hebrew University

Walter J. Fischel has an interesting article in *New Palestine* (July 1944) on the School of Oriental Studies at the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus:

The School of Oriental Studies at the Hebrew University began its activities in April, 1926, as a research institute initiated by the late Professor Joseph Horowitz, who acted as its first Visiting Director until his death in 1931. After many deliberations with other leading Orientalists, Professor Horowitz thought that the best way of securing a prominent place for the new School in the world of Oriental scholarship would be to let it deal with a specific task. Two rather formidable projects were suggested to the newly founded institute, the intention being to unite the various members of the staff in a collective scientific endeavor over a number of years.

The one task was the preparation of a concordance of classical Arabic Poetry from the pre-Islamic period onwards up to the close of the Ummayyad Dynasty (750 A.D.); the other was a critical edition of a Muslim history called *Ansab al Ashraf* (*The Genealogy of the Nobles*) by al-Baladhuri (died 892 A.D.), one of the most famous of the earlier historians of Islam.

In order to provide the students with all facilities for acquiring a thorough command of Arabic as a living language, a Jewish scholar from Aleppo, J. Shamosh, was added to the staff and entrusted with the special task of training our students in the writing and speaking of modern Arabic. In his classes formal speeches are made in Arabic and the students are made thoroughly acquainted with modern Arabic diction and literature. Mr. Shamosh's forthcoming book on "*The Place of the Story in Modern Arabic Literature*," to be published in Hebrew and Arabic simultaneously, is being looked forward to by Arabic writers in Egypt and Syria.

Among the outstanding translations of Oriental literature into Hebrew undertaken by members of the School of Oriental Studies are those of J. J. Rivlin of the *Koran*, *The Life of Mohammed* by Ibn Hisham, and *Literary History of the Arabs* by R. Nicholson. These translations have been highly praised in the Arabic press, particularly that of the *Koran*, nearly a third of which has already appeared, because of its faithful adherence to the Arabic text and the spirit of the original. A complete translation into Hebrew of the *Thousand and One Nights* is also in preparation. A former student of the School has translated *The Autobiography of Taha Hussein*, the most prominent contemporary Arabic philosopher and scholar in Egypt, into Hebrew.

Translations from classical Persian literature are rare, although *Omar Khayyam* has been put into Hebrew repeatedly. An attempt, also, has been made to translate into Hebrew, a chapter of Firdusi's *Shahname*.

No account of the School of Oriental Studies would be complete without reference to its valuable collection of nearly four thousand photographs of monuments of Muslim art and architecture—an excellent guide for lectures and research in this field. It also possesses archives of Oriental music, the collection of which was the life task of the late R. Lachmann, containing gramophone recordings of the secular and liturgical music of the various sects and races of North Africa, Persia, Turkey and other countries of the East.

The Wisdom of Ibn Saud

That Ibn Saud's counsel in Arab matters has been invaluable would be questioned only by those who fain would see adopted a policy diametrically opposed to his. It is true that not all Arab leaders have at all times seen eye to eye with him, for, particularly in North Arabia, men are apt to be impatient to obtain quick results; but none denies his unlimited faith in the future of the Arab peoples. He is no dreamer; he realises that fine words butter no parsnips; that walking must precede running.

There are difficulties in the Arab world—it would be flying in the face of history and of the evidence of the present to deny it—and none realises them more fully than Ibn Saud. But, given patience and resolve, they are conquerable, and, if Allah wills, they will be overcome. For cheap denunciation and unconstructive criticism, Ibn Saud has scant room: his is the quieter way of playing the fish. The very nature of Saudi Arabia, with its punishment for those who spurn the wells of truth and think to cross uncharted deserts without knowledge of the whereabouts of water, indicates a leisurely if careful approach to problems, and though Ibn Saud can act with speed when the occasion demands, he recognises that snap decisions may recoil upon the man who prefers celerity to clear thinking.

Ibn Saud will surely become a legend—he is, indeed, already such. It would be easy to conclude by saying that we shall not see his like again. But, if Allah wills, he has many years yet to live, and in any case none can tell when Arabia may throw up a comparable genius. It may be, but it is not inevitable, that the glories of his personal rule will in time be but a memory, for they proceed rather from a man than from a system; they may equally be an inspiration to govern the deeds of those who come after him.

There is no need to be gloomy about the future of Arabia. It is of good augury that Ibn Saud's qualities have been so far recognised by the world as to obtain for his realm membership of the San Francisco Conference, and if the interest of the West in his domains is rightly directed, there may ensue a lasting and mutual benefit between a land that, except for Muslims, has too long been in the shadows, and the outside world that could with immense advantage imbue itself with some of Ibn Saud's virtues.

—Great Britain and the East

Transport, the Chief Problem of Turkey

The inadequacy of modern means of transport is the problem in Turkey. So writes a correspondent of the magazine *Great Britain and the East*. (Jan. 1945).

Turkey, being overwhelmingly an agricultural land, has felt her industry far less dislocated by the policy of autarchy than such countries as Great Britain, Sweden and Switzerland. In Turkey there has been no need to plough up ancient parks, as in England, nor to clear the forests to grow crops, as has been the case both in Sweden and Switzerland. Turkey is favoured with an excellent climate and rich soil that produces an abundance and variety of crops. She produces also large surplus of food for export.

The chief problem in Turkey is the inadequacy of means of transport. It is surprising to read, for instance, that in a country of this size there are not more than 15,000 kilometres of main roads built by the Ministry of Public Works, quite inadequate for a country of 800,000 square kilometres. The authorities are aware of this, and there is an annual allocation in the Ministry's budget that is increased every year. When the present program has been carried out, Turkey will have the benefit of a network of over 40,000 kilometres of main roads.

But the other vital component is the transport system, means of locomotion being very backward. One consequence is that the difficulty of bringing crops to the market has been a severe handicap to the farmers and to the export trade in grain and pulse.

There is no motor industry in the country, so Turkey is obliged to import all her cars and lorries, to say nothing of spare parts, and, above all, of tires, to say nothing of petrol and of railway rolling stock. It should not be difficult to found a wagon factory here. There is ample scope for it. In the War of Independence all the military transport was carried on rural two-wheeled carts.

Under present conditions, it is virtually impossible to import lorries.

Sir Percy Sykes

We are indebted to *Luzac's Quarterly* for this obituary of one who had a large circle of friends in the Near East:

Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., who died on June 11 at the age of 78, will be remembered for his important contributions to geographical, scientific and historical knowledge of Persia. Born at Canterbury on February 28, 1867, he was educated at Rugby and Sandhurst, whence he was gazetted to the 16th Lancers; in 1888 he transferred to the 2nd Dragoon Guards.

Early in life he was drawn to the study of Persia, and in 1893, when he had to rejoin his regiment in the Punjab, he obtained permission to travel thither by way of Persia; this he did, following a route taken by Marco Polo in the second half of the 13th century, and so reached Kerman, discovering on his way a snow-clad range of hills, unmarked on any map, which he estimated at about 8,000 ft. On his second journey, 1893-4, he explored Baluchistan, being the first European to climb the volcano of Koh-i-Taftan (12,452 ft.); returning to Persia in 1894, he was appointed the first Consul for Kerman and Persian

Baluchistan. With his sister, the late Miss Ella Sykes, who thenceforth shared his adventures, he travelled over much of the country south of Teheran, on the route between Kashan and Yzd. In 1896 he joined Sir Thomas Holdich as assistant commissioner on the Perso-Baluch Boundary Commission. In 1899 he founded the British Consulate for Seistán and Káin, and surveyed and described the geography of both these provinces.

In 1902 he published "Ten Thousand Miles in Persia," a vivid account of his travels and discoveries, and the same year he was made a C.M.G. and received the Royal Geographical Society's Patron's Gold Medal for his valuable contributions to map-knowledge of Eastern Persia, Seistan and Baluchistan. In 1910 he had published "The Glory of the Shia World," a pseudo-autobiography displaying intimate knowledge of ancient Persian life and customs. This was followed in 1915 by his standard "History of Persia," in two volumes, an ambitious work treating of everything connected with Persia over a matter of 7,000 years.

During the 1914-1918 war he rendered further valuable service to geography, surveying six distinct regions of the country through which he had previously travelled. Retiring in 1920, in collaboration with his sister he published "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," which contained much new information about Chinese Turkestan.

The Founder of the White Fathers

Charles Martial Cardinal Lavigerie is known for many things—professor at the Sorbonne, Auditor of the Roman Rota, director of the Society for the Establishment of Catholic Schools in the Near East, Member of the French Legion of Honor, Bishop of Nancy, Archbishop of Algiers and of Carthage, founder of the Seminary of St. Anne in Jerusalem for students preparing for the priesthood of the Melkite Rite, leader of the anti-slavery campaign, supporter of the French Republic, Cardinal Prince of the Roman Church. To the Moslems, however, he is better known as "the only Christian marabout (holy man) who would not go to hell" and the founder of the Society of Missionaries of Africa and the Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa (the White Fathers and White Sisters).

Charles Martial Lavigerie was born in 1825 near the city of Bayonne in Southern France and entered upon his studies in preparation for the priesthood as a student from his native diocese. He was ordained in 1849 and after four years of postgraduate work was appointed to a professorship at the world-renowned Sorbonne in Paris. Here he made those contacts which caused him to go, in 1860, on a mission of mercy to the Lebanon. This resulted in his being honored by France with the Cross of the Legion of Honor, and by the Holy Father with a domestic prelature and the nomination as Auditor of the Roman Rota for France.

In 1863 he was consecrated in Rome as Bishop of Nancy in France and in 1867 he consented to the request of Marshal MacMahon, the Governor General of Algeria, to become the Archbishop of Algiers. The new appointment brought many heartaches. The priests did not understand the Arabic of the natives; no attempt was being made to

Christianize the non-European people of the diocese. The situation called for attention and attention it received.

In 1868 three men from the diocesan seminary volunteered for the mission and these with four others on February 2, 1869, became the first members of the Society of Missionaries of Africa. They were clothed in the Arab costume: "in a white tunic (gandura) and mantle (burnous) with a red cap (chechia) and a black and white rosary (in place of the Mohammedan's tesbiha, a string of beads for saying over the name of God) round the neck." Because of this habit they are commonly known as White Fathers.

These sons of Lavigerie and his daughters too (for he established the White Sisters in 1869) carry on his work even to this day. They have missions in North Africa in Tunisia, Algeria, Ghardaia, and Kabylia; in Central Africa in the Congo; in West Africa in French Guinea, Ivory Coast and Gold Coast, and each year they report the conversion of approximately one hundred thousand people to the faith.

During his time as superior of the White Fathers the Archbishop conducted an anti-slavery drive throughout Europe; he founded a seminary for the Catholic men of the Melkite Rite who wished to prepare for the priesthood in their own rite; he instituted archeological research on the ancient site of Carthage and in 1881 Pope Leo XIII rewarded him by raising him to the Cardinalate and in 1884 by nominating him the first modern Primate of Africa and Archbishop of the re-established See of Carthage.

The Cardinal died on November 26, 1892, but the Cardinal still lives in his White Fathers and his White Sisters. They are now in America. The White Fathers at Alexandria Bay, New York, and the White Sisters at Metuchen, N. J.

RICHARD H. J. HANLEY

Birth Control in Egypt

Added hope that the teeming growth in many of the Asiatic countries may eventually be brought under voluntary control and an acute danger to future peace thereby removed was seen today by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

In Egypt in the heart of the Moslem world and one of the most densely populated areas of the globe, Mohammedan religious courts have taken a realistic position on the practice of contraception, far in advance of the attitude of most religious bodies in the Western World.

A "fatwa," or Judgment, of the Grand Mufti of Egypt, highest judicial authority under Moslem religious law, has sanctioned the practice of contraception in marriage under a wide variety of circumstances ranging from ill health to economic hardship or, as the Grand Mufti so aptly put it, fear of "wicked times."

—*The Churchman*, June 15, 1945

The Arabian Horse

One would have thought that the final tribute to the glory of the Arab steed was paid by Colonel Tweedie in his sumptuous volume, published two decades ago, with the curious title, "The Arabian

Horse: His Country and His People." But now we have a still larger work by Lady Wentworth, the daughter of Lady Ann Blunt, who, with her husband, not only explored Arabia but did more than any others to preserve the best breed of Arabian horses, at Sussex in England.

The book is published by Allen and Unwin, and is characterized by the *London Times* as "an encyclopedia." It is lavishly illustrated and bears the suggestive title: *The Authentic Arabian Horse and His Descendants: Three Voices concerning the horses of Arabia: Tradition (Nejd Inner East), Romantic Fable (Islam), the Outside World of the West*. At the cost of five guineas the lover of horses can feast his mind and eyes on this volume. It was Lady Ann Blunt who went into rhapsodies over a three-year-old mare, the Queen of Sheba, which she afterward purchased: "There is a neatness and finish about every movement which remind one of a fawn or a gazelle. We are all agreed that she is incomparably superior to anything we have seen here or elsewhere and would be worth a king's ransom if kings were still worth ransoming." Her daughter has inherited from Lady Ann Blunt not only love of horses but skill in writing.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

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I. GENERAL

THE RESPONSE TO NATURE IN ARABIC POETRY. Gustave E. von Grunebaum. (In the *Journal of the Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago. July, 1945. pp. 137-151).

Although nature means considerably less to the Arab than to the occidental writer, the Abbasid age produced some charming passages.

A STUDY OF MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE IN TASHKENT. Taisiya Smirnova. (In *Indian Art and Letters*, London. 1944, part 2, pp. 92-93).

Describes distinguished designs of 12th and 16th century mausoleums at and near a village named Zengi-Ata.

II. ARABIA

THE FUTURE OF THE BEDOUIN OF NORTHERN ARABIA. W. G. Elphinston. (In *International Affairs*, London. July, 1945. pp. 370-375).

Presents various schemes for the gradual sedentarization of the tribes.

GUEST IN SAUDI ARABIA. Maynard Owen Williams. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, D. C. October, 1945. pp. 463-487).

Pictures the author's visit to the court of Ibn Saud in a land where American mechanization is developing fabulous oil supplies.

MELODIES OF EASTERN ARABIA. Max Weston Thornburg. (In *The Arab World*, New York. Autumn, 1945. pp. 22-27).

Comments, with music, of several present-day dirges and chants.

SOUTH-WEST ARABIA: TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW. Harold Ingrams. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. May, 1945. pp. 135-155).

Records economic and educational conditions in an attempt to find a basis for efforts to develop the area for a substantial place in the League of Arab States.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

MUSLIM CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEDIAEVAL INDIA. S. K. Banerji. (In *The Indian Review*, Madras. July, 1945. pp. 382-386).

Finds that Islam did much to stimulate and improve political and social conditions.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

ABUL-ALA AL MA'AARI. (In *The Arab World*, New York. Autumn, 1945. pp. 52-56).

Tells of a blind philosopher and poet, born near Aleppo in 973 A.D., who proved to be a forerunner of Rationalism.

A MANDAEAN BOOK OF BLACK MAGIC. E. S. Drower, Translator. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. 1943, parts 3/4. pp. 149-181).

Presents texts and translations of several old manuscripts.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ISLAMIC DOCTRINE OF ACQUISITION. William M. Watt. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. 1943, parts 3/4. pp. 234-247).

Examines in detail the orthodox tenet that God creates the acts of man while man merely acquires them, a creed sometimes attributed to al-Ash'ari.

POEMS BY NIMR IBN 'ADWĀN, xxi-xliv. H. Henry Spoer and Elias Nasrallah Haddad. (In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore. January-March, 1945. pp. 37-50).

Contains Arabic text with translation and comments.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

ARAB LABOUR IN PALESTINE. J. Asfour. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. May, 1945. pp. 201-205).

Although agriculture remains the chief industry of the country, an Arab Workers' Society exists and tries to co-operate with the Jewish Labour Federation, but without much success.

TYPES OF NATIVE LIFE IN TRIPOLITANIA. Jean Despois. (In *The Geographical Review*, New York. July, 1945. pp. 352-367).

Describes village and nomad conditions and finds water the great necessity sought by all people.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

THE AMERY-WAVELL PLAN FOR INDIA. S. Chandrasekhar. (In *Asia and the Americas*, New York. August, 1945. pp. 398-400).

Criticises the reactionary features of the Simla Conference and blames Jinnah and the Muslim League for its complete failure.

DANGER IN THE DARDANELLES. Charlotte E. Braun. (In *Current History*, New York. September, 1945. pp. 222-226).

A survey of Russo-Turkish relations from Peter the Great's time to the present.

FRANCE AND THE LEVANT. Kenneth Williams. (In *The Fortnightly*, London. July, 1945. pp. 9-14).

French culture is needed in the Middle East, though it is hard to see how her political future can be maintained there in the face of Arab distrust.

THE FRENCH IN TUNISIA. Donald Vernon McKay. (In *The Geographical Journal*, New York. July, 1945. pp. 368-390).

An historical study.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE LEVANT. Norman Bentwich. (In *The Fortnightly*, London. August, 1945. pp. 97-103).

Surveys the situation from 1939 to date and finds that a complete understanding with France is Britain's first necessity in the area.

INDIA: THE POLITICAL SITUATION. (In *The Round Table*, London. June, 1945. pp. 248-253).

Presents a picture of a discordant India, where many turbulent factions clash over all subjects from movements towards self-government to plans for industrializing the country.

IS ZIONISM A SOLUTION? Michel G. Malti. (In *The Arab World*, New York. Autumn, 1945. pp. 41-48; 74-80).

Discusses the subject from its inception in the middle of the 19th century and attempts to show that the effective solution is to treat the Jewish problem as a minority question and not as a Palestinian one.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND OUR POLICY THERE. Maj.-Gen. Sir Edward Spears. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. May, 1945. pp. 156-165).

A study of the French position in Syria and the Lebanon, expressing the hope that Great Britain will not let the Arabs lose confidence in British interest and support.

MIDDLE EAST CHALLENGE. James M. Landis. (In *Fortune*, New York. September, 1945. pp. 161-164; 176-188).

"A vast market likes our goods, our gadgets, even our manner. If we don't sell more than ever before, it's our own fault."

THE PAKISTAN IDEA. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri. (In *The Indian Review*, Madras. June, 1945. pp. 321-325).

An elaborate review of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's book, "Pakistan or partition of India," published in Bombay by Thacker and Co.

VII. THE ARAB QUESTION

THE ARAB PROBLEM IN PALESTINE. Walter C. Lowdermilk. (In *World Dominion and The World Tomorrow*, London. May-June, 1945. pp. 139-141).

Although social and economic progress has followed Jewish activities, feudal-minded Arab landowners steadily stimulate prejudices and antagonisms.

THE ARABS AND THE WORLD. Dorothy Adelson. (In *Asia and the Americas*, New York. September, 1945. pp. 439-442).

Considers the position of the League of Arab States at the San Francisco Conference and elsewhere and claims it supplied no help toward a solution in Palestine.

BRITAIN AND THE ARAB WORLD. Dr. U. P. Mayer. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. June, 1945. pp. 369-373).

The British must strive to effect a concerted liberal policy in the Middle East with the co-operation of the United States and Russia.

HAVE THE ARABS A CASE? Eliahu Ben-Horin. (In *The Nation*, New York. October 20, 1945. pp. 399-401).

A slashing indictment of Arab pro-Nazi intrigue during the war and of the repressive, feudalistic tendencies of the ruling cliques.

THE NEW ARAB FEDERATION. Sidney B. Fay; and, A Criticism of Professor Fay's "New Arab Federation." Elisha Friedman. (In *Current History*, New York. May, 1945. pp. 398-402; August, 1945. pp. 121-125).

A survey of conditions leading to the formation of the Arab League.

TOWARD ARAB UNITY. H. A. R. Gibb. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. October, 1945. pp. 119-129).

A thorough, historical presentation of the subject: the problem being "on what terms and in what relation to the outer world will Arab unity be realized?"

VIII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

THE BARRIER OF ISLAM. L. P. H. (In *Central Africa*, London. May, 1945. p. 56).

The Moslems are good neighbors but Christian community life is the missionary's only means of approach to them.

THE GROWING FELLOWSHIP IN PERSIA. The Rt. Rev. W. J. Thompson. (In *The C.M.S. Outlook*, London, May, 1945. p. 1).

Describes the fine work being done by Iranian clergy, one a converted Jew and the others with Moslem backgrounds.

CHRISTIANITY OR ISLAM? (In *The Lightbearer*, Melbourne. August-October, 1945. pp. 2-3).

A strong plea for Christian zeal—not only in the hearts of missionaries but in the hearts of all Christians.

A LIGHT TO LIGHTEN THE MOSLEM. (In *The C.M.S. Outlook*, London. May, 1945. p. 4).

Tells how Christian love and sympathy have led the village elders in the Bokwa district of Tanganyika to ask for a mission school and hospital.

A NEW APPROACH IN A NEW DAY. The Bishop in Iran. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. July, 1945. pp. 280-287).

Bishop Thompson urges missions to co-operate wholeheartedly with governments and non-Christian elements in their fields.